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AN HISTORICAL

ACCOUNT

OF THE

RISE AND PROGRESS

OF THE COLONIES OF

SOUTH CAROLINA

AND

GEORGIA.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

PRINTED FOR ALEXANDER DONALDSON,

No. 48. ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, LONDON.

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THE HISTORY OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE COLONY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

CHAP. VII.

FROM that period in which the right and title to the lands of Carolina were ſold, and ſurrendered to the King, and he aſſumed the immediate care and government of the province, a new æra commences in the annals of that country, which may be called the æra of its freedom, ſecurity, and happineſs. The Carolineans who had long laboured under innumerable hardſhips and troubles, from a weak proprietary eſtabliſhment, at laſt obtained the great object of their deſires, a royal government, the conſtitution of which depended on commiſſions iſſued by the crown to the Governor, and the inſtructions which attended thoſe commiſſions. The form of all provincial governments was borrowed from that of their mother country, which was not a plan of ſyſtematic rules drawn before-hand

The form of legal governments.

hand by ſpeculative men, but a conſtitution which was the reſult of many ages of wiſdom and experience. Its great object is the public good, in promoting of which all are equally concerned. It is a conſtitution which has a remedy within itſelf for every political diſorder, which, when properly applied, muſt ever contribute to its ſtability and duration. After the model of this Britiſh conſtitution, the government of Carolina now aſſumed a form like the other regal ones on the continent, which were compoſed of three branches, of a Governor, a Council, and an Aſſembly. The crown having the appointment of the Governor, delegates to him; its conſtitutional powers, civil and military, the power of legiſlation as far as the King poſſeſſes it; its judicial and executive powers, together with thoſe of chancery and admiralty juriſdiction, and alſo thoſe of ſupreme ordinary: all theſe powers, as they exiſt in the crown, are known by the laws of the realm; as they are entruſted to Governors, they are declared and defined by their commiſſions patent. The council, though differing in many reſpects from the houſe of peers, are intended to repreſent that houſe, and are appointed by the King during pleaſure, for ſupporting the prerogatives of the crown in the province. The Aſſembly conſiſts of the repreſentatives of the people, and are elected by them as the Houſe of Commons in Great Britain, to be the guardians of their lives, liberties, and properties. Here alſo the conſtitution confides in the good behaviour of the repreſentatives; for ſhould they preſume in any reſpect to betray their truſt, it gives the people more frequent opportunities than even in Britain, of chuſing others in their ſtead. The Governor convenes, prorogues, and diſſolves

theſe

theſe Aſſemblies, and has a negative on the bills of both houſes. After bills have received his aſſent, they are ſent to Great Britain for the royal approbation, in conſequence of which they have the force of laws in the province. This is a general ſketch of the royal governments, which are intended to reſemble the conſtitution of Great Britain, as nearly as the local circumſtances of the provinces will admit, and which, notwithſtanding its imperfections, is certainly the beſt form of government upon earth. By the inſtructions which the Governor receives from time to time from England, his power no doubt is greatly circumſcribed; but it is his duty to tranſmit authentic accounts of the ſtate of his province, in order that the inſtructions given him may be proper, and calculated for promoting not only the good of the province, but alſo that of the Britiſh empire.

After the purchaſe of the province, the firſt object of the royal concern was, to eſtabliſh the peace of the colony on the moſt firm and permanent foundation; and for this purpoſe treaties of union and alliance with Indian nations were judged to be eſſentially neceſſary. Domeſtic ſecurity being firſt eſtabliſhed, the coloniſts might then apply themſelves to induſtry with vigour and ſucceſs, and while they enriched themſelves, they would at the ſame time enlarge the commerce and trade of the mother-country. For this purpoſe Sir Alexander Cumming was appointed, and ſent out to conclude a treaty of alliance with the Cherokees, at this time a warlike and formidable nation of ſavages. Theſe Indians occupied the lands about the head of Savanna river,

Sir Alexander Cumming ſent out to treat of peace with the Indians.

and backwards among the Apalachian mountains. The country they claimed as their hunting grounds was of immenſe extent; and its boundaries had never been clearly aſcertained. The inhabitants of their different towns were computed to amount to more than twenty thouſand, ſix thouſand of whom were warriors, fit on any emergency to take the field. An alliance with ſuch a nation was an object of the higheſt conſequence to Carolina, and likewiſe to the mother-country, now engaged for its defence and protection.

About the beginning of the year 1730, Sir Alexander arrived in Carolina, and made preparations for his journey to the diſtant hills. For his guides he procured ſome Indian traders, well acquainted with the woods, and an interpreter who underſtood the Cherokee language, to aſſiſt him in his negociations. When he reached Keowee, about three hundred miles from Charleſtown, the chiefs of the lower towns there met him, and received him with marks of great friendſhip and eſteem. He immediately diſpatched meſſengers to the middle, the valley, and over-hill ſettlements, and ſummoned a general meeting of all their chiefs, to hold a congreſs with him at Nequaſſee. Accordingly in the month of April the chief warriors of all the Cherokee towns aſſembled at the place appointed. After the various Indian ceremonies were over, Sir Alexander made a ſpeech to them, acquainting them by whoſe authority he was ſent, and repreſenting the great power and goodneſs of his ſovereign King George; how he, and all his other ſubjects, paid a cheerful obedience to his laws, and of courſe were protected by him from all harm;

That

That he had come a great way to demand of Moytoy, and all the chieftains of the nation, to acknowledge themſelves the ſubjects of his King, and to promiſe obedience to his authority: and as he loved them, and was anſwerable to his Sovereign for their good and peaceable behaviour, he hoped they would agree to what he ſhould now require of them. Upon which the chiefs, falling on their knees, ſolemnly promiſed fidelity and obedience, calling upon all that was terrible to fall upon them if they violated their promiſe. Sir Alexander then, by their unanimous conſent, nominated Moytoy commander and chief of the Cherokee nation, and enjoined all the warriors of the different tribes to acknowledge him for their King, to whom they were to be accountable for their conduct. To this they alſo agreed, provided Moytoy ſhould be made anſwerable to Sir Alexander for his behaviour to them. After which many uſeful preſents were made them, and the congreſs ended to the great ſatisfaction of both parties. The crown was brought from Tenaſſee, their chief town, which with five eagle tails, and four ſcalps of their enemies, Moytoy preſented to Sir Alexander, requeſting him, on his arrival at Britain, to lay them at his Majeſty's feet. But Sir Alexander propoſed to Moytoy, that he ſhould depute ſome of their chiefs to accompany him to England, there to do homage in perſon to the great King. Accordingly ſix of them agreed, and accompanied Sir Alexander to Charleſtown, where being joined by another, they embarked for England in the Fox man of war, and arrived at Dover in June 1730.

Brings with him to England ſeven Cherokees.

We

We ſhall not pretend to deſcribe their behaviour at the ſight of London, or their wonder and aſtoniſhment at the greatneſs of the city, the number of the people, and the ſplendour of the army and court. Being admitted into the preſence of the King, they, in the name of their nation, promiſed to continue for ever his Majeſty's faithful and obedient ſubjects. A treaty was accordingly drawn up, and ſigned by Alured Popple, ſecretary to the Lords Commiſſioners of trade and plantations, on one ſide; and by the marks of the ſix chiefs, on the other. The preamble to this treaty recites, "That whereas the ſix "Chiefs, with the conſent of the whole nation of "Cherokees, at a general meeting of their nation "at Nequaſſee, were deputed by Moytoy, their chief "warrior, to attend Sir Alexander Cumming to "Great Britain, where they had ſeen the great "King George: and Sir Alexander, by authority "from Moytoy and all the Cherokees, had laid the "crown of their nation, with the ſcalps of their ene-"mies and feathers of glory, at his Majeſty's feet, "as a pledge of their loyalty: And whereas the "great King had commanded the Lords Commiſſion-"ers of trade and plantations to inform the Indians, "that the Engliſh on all ſides of the mountains and "lakes were his people, their friends his friends, "and their enemies his enemies; that he took it "kindly the great nation of Cherokees had ſent them "ſo far, to brighten the chain of friendſhip between "him and them, and between his people and their "people; that the chain of friendſhip between him "and the Cherokees is now like the ſun, which "ſhines both in Britain and alſo upon the great "mountains where they live, and equally warms the "hearts

Who enter into a treaty of peace and alliance.

" hearts of Indians and Engliſhmen; that as there " is no ſpots or blackneſs in the ſun, ſo neither is " there any ruſt or foulneſs on this chain. And as " the King had faſtened one end to his breaſt, he " deſired them to carry the other end of the chain " and faſten it to the breaſt of Moytoy of Telliquo, " and to the breaſts of all their old wiſe men, their " captains, and people, never more to be made looſe " or broken.

" THE great King and the Cherokees being thus " faſtened together by a chain of friendſhip, he has " ordered, and it is agreed, that his children in Ca- " rolina do trade with the Indians, and furniſh them " with all manner of goods they want, and to make " haſte to build houſes and plant corn from Charles- " town, towards the towns of Cherokees behind the " great mountains: That he deſires the Engliſh and " Indians may live together as children of one fami- " ly; that the Cherokees be always ready to fight " againſt any nation, whether white men or Indians, " who ſhall dare to moleſt or hurt the Engliſh; that " the nation of Cherokees ſhall, on their part, take " care to keep the trading path clean, that there be " no blood on the path where the Engliſh tread, " even though they ſhould be accompanied with " other people with whom the Cherokees may be at " war: That the Cherokees ſhall not ſuffer their " people to trade with white men of any other na- " tion but the Engliſh, nor permit white men of any " other nation to build any forts or cabins, or plant " any corn among them, upon lands which belong " to the great King: and if any ſuch attempt ſhall " be made, the Cherokees muſt acquaint the Eng-

" liſh

" liſh Governor therewith, and do whatever he di-
" rects, in order to maintain and defend the great
" King's right to the country of Carolina: That if
" any negroes ſhall run away into the woods from
" their Engliſh maſters, the Cherokees ſhall endea-
" vour to apprehend them, and bring them to the
" plantation from whence they run away, or to the
" Governor, and for every ſlave ſo apprehended and
" brought back, the Indian that brings him ſhall re-
" ceive a gun and a watch-coat: and if by any ac-
" cident it ſhall happen, that an Engliſhman ſhall
" kill a Cherokee, the King or chief of the nation
" ſhall firſt complain to the Engliſh Governor, and
" the man who did the harm ſhall be puniſhed by
" the Engliſh laws as if he had killed an Engliſh-
" man; and in like manner, if any Indian happens
" to kill an Engliſhman, the Indian ſhall be delivered
" up to the Governor, to be puniſhed by the ſame
" Engliſh laws as if he were an Engliſhman."

THIS was the ſubſtance of the firſt treaty between the King and the Cherokees, every article of which was accompanied with preſents of different kinds, ſuch as cloth, guns, ſhot, vermilion, flints, hatchets, knives. The Indians were given to underſtand, " That theſe were the words of the great King,
" whom they had ſeen, and as a token that his heart
" was open and true to his children the Cherokees,
" and to all their people, a belt was given the war-
" riors, which they were told the King deſired
" them to keep, and ſhew to all their people, to
" their children, and children's children, to con-
" firm what was now ſpoken, and to bind this
" agreement of peace and friendſhip between the

" Engliſh and Cherokees, as long as the rivers ſhall " run, the mountains ſhall laſt, or the ſun ſhall " ſhine."

THIS treaty, that it might be the eaſier underſtood, was drawn up in language as ſimilar as poſſible to that of the Indians, which at this time was very little known in England, and given to them, certified and approved by Sir Alexander Cumming. In anſwer to which, Skijaguſtah, in name of the reſt, made a ſpeech to the following effect:—

Speech of a Cherokee warrior.

" We are come hither from a mountainous place, " where nothing but darkneſs is to be found—but " we are now in a place where there is light.—There " was a perſon in our country—he gave us a yellow " token of warlike honour, which is left with " Moytoy of Telliquo,—and as warriors we received " it.—He came to us like a warrior from you.— " A man he is;—his talk is upright—and the to- " ken he left preſerves his memory among us.— " We look upon you as if the great King were pre- " ſent;—we love you as repreſenting the great King; " —we ſhall die in the ſame way of thinking.—The " crown of our nation is different from that which " the great King George wears, and from that we " ſaw in the tower.—But to us it is all one.—The " chain of friendſhip ſhall be carried to our people. " —We look upon the great King George as the Sun, " and as our father, and upon ourſelves as his chil- " dren.—For though we are red, and you are white, " yet our hands and hearts are joined together.— " When we ſhall have acquainted our people with " what we have ſeen, our children from generation

" to generation will always remember it.—In war " we ſhall always be one with you. The enemies " of the great King ſhall be our enemies ;—his " people and ours ſhall be one, and ſhall die toge- " ther.—We came hither naked and poor as the " worms of the earth, but you have every thing,— " and we that have nothing muſt love you, and will " never break the chain of friendſhip which is be- " tween us.—Here ſtands the Governor of Caro- " lina, whom we know.—This ſmall rope we ſhow " you is all that we have to bind our ſlaves with, " and it may be broken.—But you have iron chains " for yours.—However, if we catch your ſlaves, we " will bind them as well as we can, and deliver " them to our friends, and take no pay for it.— " We have looked round for the perſon that was in " our country—he is not here ;—however, we muſt " ſay he talked uprightly to us, and we ſhall never " forget him.—Your white people may very ſafely " build houſes near us ;—we ſhall hurt nothing that " belongs to them, for we are children of one fa- " ther, the great King, and ſhall live and die toge- " ther." Then laying down his feathers upon the table he added: " This is our way of talking, " which is the ſame thing to us as your letters in " the book are to you, and to you beloved men " we deliver theſe feathers in confirmation of all we " have ſaid."

The Cherokees, however barbarous, were a free and independent people ; and this method of obtaining a ſhare of their lands by the general conſent, was fair and honourable in itſelf, and moſt agreeable

to

to the general principles of equity, and the Engliſh conſtitution. An agreement is made with them, in conſequence of which the King could not only give a juſt title to Indian lands; but, by Indians becoming his voluntary ſubjects, the coloniſts obtained peaceable poſſeſſion. The Cherokees held abundance of territory from nature, and with little injury to themſelves could ſpare a ſhare of it; but reaſon and juſtice required that it be obtained by paction or agreement. By ſuch treaties mutual preſents were made, mutual obligations were eſtabliſhed, and, for the performance of the conditions required, the honour and faith of both parties were pledged. Even to men in a barbarous ſtate ſuch policy was the moſt agreeable, as will afterwards clearly appear; for the Cherokees, in conſequence of this treaty, for many years, remained in a ſtate of perfect friendſhip and peace with the coloniſts, who followed their various employments in the neighbourhood of thoſe Indians, without the leaſt terror or moleſtation.

Robert Johnſon Governor.

About the beginning of the year 1731, Robert Johnſon, who had been Governor of Carolina while in the poſſeſſion of the Lords Proprietors, having received a commiſſion from the King, inveſting him with the ſame office and authority, arrived in the province. He brought back theſe Indian chiefs, poſſeſſed with the higheſt ideas of the power and greatneſs of the Engliſh nation, and not a little pleaſed with the kind and generous treatment they had received. The Carolineans, who had always entertained the higheſt eſteem for this gentleman, even in the time of their greateſt confuſion, having now obtained him in the

character of King's Governor, a thing they formerly had ſo earneſtly deſired, received him with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy. Senſible of his wiſdom and virtue, and his ſtrong attachment to the colony, they promiſed themſelves much proſperity and happineſs under his gentle adminiſtration.

This new Governor, from his knowledge of the province, and the diſpoſitions of the people, was not only well qualified for his high office, but he had a council to aſſiſt him, compoſed of the moſt reſpectable inhabitants. Thomas Broughton was appointed Lieutenant-governor, and Robert Wright Chief Juſtice. The other members of the council were, William Bull, James Kinloch, Alexander Skene, John Fenwick, Arthur Middleton, Joſeph Wragg, Francis Yonge, John Hamerton, and Thomas Waring. At the firſt meeting of Aſſembly, the Governor recommended to both houſes, to embrace the earlieſt opportunity of teſtifying their gratitude to his Majeſty for purchaſing ſeven-eight parts of the province, and taking it under his particular care; he enjoined them to put the laws in execution againſt impiety and immorality, and as the moſt effectual means of diſcouraging vice, to attend carefully to the education of youth. He acquainted them of the treaty which had been concluded in England with the Cherokees, which he hoped would be attended with beneficial and happy conſequences; he recommended the payment of public debts, the eſtabliſhment of public credit, and peace and unanimity among themſelves as the chief objects of their attention; for if they ſhould prove faithful ſubjects to his Majeſty,

jeſty, and attend to the welfare and proſperity of their country, he hoped ſoon to ſee it, now under the protection of a great and powerful nation, in as flouriſhing and proſperous a ſituation as any of the other ſettlements on the continent. They in return preſented to him the moſt loyal and affectionate addreſſes, and entered on their public deliberations with uncommon harmony and great ſatisfaction.

Several indulgences granted the people.

For the encouragement of the people, now connected with the mother country both by mutual affection and the mutual benefits of commerce, ſeveral favours and indulgences were granted them. The reſtraint upon rice, an innumerated commodity, was partly taken off; and, that it might arrive more ſeaſonably and in better condition at the market, the coloniſts were permitted to ſend it to any port ſouthward of Cape Finiſterre. A diſcount upon hemp was alſo allowed by parliament. The arrears of quit-rents bought from the Proprietors were remitted by a bounty from the Crown. For the benefit and enlargement of trade their bills of credit were continued, and ſeventy-ſeven thouſand pounds were ſtamped and iſſued by virtue of an act of the legiſlature, called the Appropriation Law. Seventy pieces of cannon were ſent out by the King, and the Governor had inſtructions to build one fort at Port-royal, and another on the river Alatamaha. An independent company of foot was allowed for their defence by land, and ſhips of war were ſtationed there for the protection of trade. Theſe and many more favours flowed to the colony, now emerging from the depths of poverty and oppreſſion, and ariſing to a ſtate of freedom, eaſe and affluence.

As

Happy effects of peace and ſecurity.

As a natural conſequence of its domeſtic ſecurity, the credit of the province in England increaſed. The merchants of London, Briſtol, and Liverpool turned their eyes to Carolina, as a new and promiſing channel of trade, and eſtabliſhed houſes in Charleſtown for conducting their buſineſs with the greater eaſe and ſucceſs. They poured in ſlaves from Africa for cultivating their lands, and manufactures of Britain for ſupplying the plantations; by which means the planters obtained great credit, and goods at a much cheaper rate than they could be obtained from any other nation. In conſequence of which the planters having greater ſtrength, turned their whole attention to cultivation, and cleared the lands with greater facility and ſucceſs. The lands aroſe in value, and men of foreſight and judgment began to look out and ſecure the richeſt ſpots for themſelves, with that ardour and keenneſs which the proſpects of riches naturally inſpire. The produce of the province in a few years was doubled. During this year above thirty-nine thouſand barrels of rice were exported, beſides deer-ſkins, furs, naval ſtores, and proviſions; and above one thouſand five hundred negroes were imported into it. From this period its exports kept pace with its imports, and ſecured its credit in England. The rate of exchange had now ariſen to ſeven hundred *per cent. i. e.* ſeven hundred Carolina money was given for a bill of an hundred pounds ſterling on England; at which rate it afterwards continued, with little variation, for upwards of forty years.

HITHERTO ſmall and inconſiderable was the progreſs in cultivation Carolina had made, and the face

face of the country appeared like a deſert, with little ſpots here and there cleared, ſcarcely diſcernible amidſt the immenſe foreſt. The coloniſts were ſlovenly farmers, owing to the vaſt quantities of lands, and the eaſy and cheap terms of obtaining them; for a good crop they were more indebted to the great power of vegetation and natural richneſs of the ſoil, than to their own good culture and judicious management. They had abundance of the neceſſaries, and ſeveral of the conveniencies of life. But their habitations were clumſy and miſerable huts, and having no chaiſes, all travellers were expoſed in open boats or on horſeback to the violent heat of the climate. Their houſes were conſtructed of wood, by erecting firſt a wooden frame, and then covering it with clap-boards without, and plaſtering it with lime within, of which they had plenty made from oyſter-ſhells. Charleſtown, at this time, conſiſted of between five and ſix hundred houſes, moſtly built of timber, and neither well conſtructed nor comfortable, plain indications of the wretchedneſs and poverty of the people. However, from this period the province improved in building as well as in many other reſpects; many ingenious artificers and tradeſmen of different kinds found encouragement in it, and introduced a taſte for brick buildings, and more neat and pleaſant habitations. In proceſs of time, as the colony increaſed in numbers, the face of the country changed, and exhibited an appearance of induſtry and plenty. The planters made a rapid progreſs towards wealth and independence, and the trade being well protected, yearly increaſed and flouriſhed.

At the ſame time, for the relief of poor and indigent people of Great Britain and Ireland, and for the farther

A project formed for planting a new colony.

farther ſecurity of Carolina, the ſettlement of a new colony between the rivers Alatamaha and Savanna was projected in England. This large territory, ſituated on the ſouth-weſt of Carolina, yet lay waſte, without an inhabitant except its original ſavages. Private compaſſion and public ſpirit conſpired towards promoting the excellent deſign. Several perſons of humanity and opulence having obſerved many families and valuable ſubjects oppreſſed with the miſeries of poverty at home, united, and formed a plan for raiſing money and tranſporting them to this part of America. For this purpoſe they applied to the King, obtained from him letters-patent, bearing date June 9th, 1732, for legally carrying into execution what they had generouſly projected. They called the new province Georgia, in honour of the King, who likewiſe greatly encouraged the undertaking. A Corporation conſiſting of twenty-one perſons was conſtituted, by the name of Truſtees, for ſettling and eſtabliſhing the Colony of Georgia; which was ſeparated from Carolina by the river Savanna. The Truſtees having firſt ſet an example themſelves, by largely contributing towards the ſcheme, undertook alſo to ſolicit benefactions from others, and to apply the money towards clothing, arming, purchaſing utenſils for cultivation, and tranſporting ſuch poor people as ſhould conſent to go over and begin a ſettlement. They however confined not their views to the ſubjects of Britain alone, but wiſely opened a door alſo for oppreſſed and indigent Proteſtants from other nations. To prevent any miſapplication or abuſe of charitable donations, they agreed to depoſit the money in the bank of England, and to enter in a book the names of all the charitable benefactors, together

with the ſums contributed by each of them; and to bind and oblige themſelves, and their ſucceſſors in office, to lay a ſtate of the money received and expended before the Lord Chancellor of England, the Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, the Maſter of the Rolls, and the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

When this ſcheme of the Truſtees with reſpect to the ſettlement of Georgia was made public, the well-wiſhers of mankind in every part of Britain highly approved of an undertaking ſo humane and diſintereſted. To conſult the public happineſs, regardleſs of private intereſt, and to ſtretch forth a bountiful hand for relief of diſtreſſed fellow-creatures, were conſidered as examples of uncommon benevolence and virtue, and therefore worthy of general imitation. The ancient Romans, famous for their courage and magnanimity, ranked the planting of colonies among their nobleſt works, and ſuch as added greater luſtre to their empire than their moſt glorious wars and victories. By the latter old cities were plundered and deſtroyed; by the former new ones were founded and eſtabliſhed. The latter ravaged the dominions of enemies, and depopulated the world; the former improved new territories, provided for unfortunate friends, and added ſtrength to the ſtate. The benevolent founders of the colony of Georgia perhaps may challenge the annals of any nation to produce a deſign more generous and praiſe-worthy than that they had undertaken. They voluntarily offered their money, their labour, and time, for promoting what appeared to them the good of others, leaving themſelves nothing for reward but the inexpreſſible ſatis-

faction arising from virtuous actions. Among other great ends they had also in view the conversion and civilization of Indian savages. If their public regulations were afterwards found improper and impracticable; if their plan of settlement proved too narrow and circumscribed; praise, nevertheless, is due to them. Human policy at best is imperfect; but, when the design appears so evidently good and disinterested, the candid and impartial part of the world will make many allowances for them, considering their ignorance of the country, and the many defects that cleave to all codes of laws, even when framed by the wisest legislators.

About the middle of July, 1732, the trustees for Georgia held their first general meeting, when Lord Percival was chosen President of the Corporation. After all the members had qualified themselves, agreeable to the charter, for the faithful discharge of the trust, a common seal was ordered to be made. The device was, on one side, two figures resting upon urns, representing the rivers Alatamaha and Savanna, the boundaries of the province; between them the genius of the colony seated, with a cap of liberty on his head, a spear in one hand and a cornucopia in the other, with the inscription, Colonia Georgia Aug.: on the other side was a representation of silk worms, some beginning and others having finished their web, with the motto, Non Sibi sed Aliis; a very proper emblem, signifying, that the nature of the establishment was such, that neither the first Trustees nor their successors could have any views of interest, it being entirely designed for the benefit and happiness of others.

In

In November following, one hundred and ſixteen ſettlers embarked at Graveſend for Georgia, having their paſſage paid, and every thing requiſite for building and cultivation furniſhed them by the Corporation. They could not properly be called adventurers, as they run no riſque but what aroſe from the change of climate, and as they were to be maintained until by their induſtry they were able to ſupport themſelves. James Oglethorpe, one of the Truſtees, embarked along with them, and proved a zealous and active promoter of the ſettlement. In the beginning of the year following Oglethorpe arrived in Charleſtown, where he was received by the Governor and Council in the kindeſt manner, and treated with every mark of civility and reſpect. Governor Johnſon, ſenſible of the great advantage that muſt accrue to Carolina from this new colony, gave all the encouragement and aſſiſtance in his power to forward the ſettlement. Many of the Carolineans ſent them proviſions, and hogs, and cows to begin their ſtock. William Bull, a man of knowledge and experience, agreed to accompany Mr. Oglethorpe, and the rangers and ſcout-boats were ordered to attend him to Georgia. After their arrival at Yamacraw, Oglethorpe and Bull explored the country, and having found an high and pleaſant ſpot of ground, ſituated on a navigable river, they fixed on this place as the moſt convenient and healthy ſituation for the ſettlers. On this hill they marked out a town, and, from the Indian name of the river which ran paſt it, called it Savanna. A ſmall fort was erected on the banks of it as a place of refuge, and ſome guns were mounted on it for the defence of the colony. The people were ſet to work in felling trees and building huts for

James Oglethorpe carries a colony to Georgia.

themſelves, and Oglethorpe animated and encouraged them, by expoſing himſelf to all the hardſhips which the poor objects of his compaſſion endured. He formed them into a company of militia, appointed officers from among themſelves, and furniſhed them with arms and ammunition. To ſhew the Indians how expert they were at the uſe of arms, he frequently exerciſed them; and as they had been trained beforehand by the ſerjeants of the guards in London, they performed their various parts in a manner little inferior to regular troops.

He treats with Indians for a ſhare of their lands.

HAVING thus put his colony in as good a ſituation as poſſible, the next object of his attention was to treat with the Indians for a ſhare of their poſſeſſions. The principal tribes that at this time occupied the territory were the Upper and Lower Creeks; the former were numerous and ſtrong, the latter, by diſeaſes and war, had been reduced to a ſmaller number: both tribes together were computed to amount to about twenty-five thouſand, men, women and children. Thoſe Indians, according to a treaty formerly made with Governor Nicolſon, laid claim to the lands lying ſouth-weſt of Savanna river, and, to procure their friendſhip for this infant colony, was an object of the higheſt conſequence. But as the tribe of Indians ſettled at Yamacraw was inconſiderable, Oglethorpe judged it neceſſary to have the other tribes alſo to join with them in the treaty. To accompliſh this union he found an Indian woman named Mary, who had married a trader from Carolina, and who could ſpeak both the Engliſh and Creek languages; and perceiving that ſhe had great influence among Indians, and might be made uſeful as an interpreter in forming

forming treaties of alliance with them; he therefore firſt purchaſed her friendſhip with preſents, and afterwards ſettled an hundred pounds yearly on her, as a reward for her ſervices. By her aſſiſtance he ſummoned a general meeting of the chiefs, to hold a congreſs with him at Savanna, in order to procure their conſent to the peaceable ſettlement of his colony. At this congreſs fifty chieftains were preſent, when Oglethorpe repreſented to them the great power, wiſdom and wealth of the Engliſh nation, and the many advantages that would accrue to Indians in general from a connection and friendſhip with them; and as they had plenty of lands, he hoped they would freely reſign a ſhare of them to his people, who were come for their benefit and inſtruction to ſettle among them. After having diſtributed ſome preſents, which muſt always attend every propoſal of friendſhip and peace, an agreement was made, and then Tomochichi, in name of the Creek warriors, addreſſed him in the following manner: "Here is a "little preſent, and, giving him a buffaloe's ſkin, a-"dorned on the inſide with the head and feathers "of an eagle, deſired him to accept it, becauſe the "eagle was an emblem of ſpeed, and the buffalo of "ſtrength. He told him, that the Engliſh were as "ſwift as the bird and as ſtrong as the beaſt, ſince, "like the former, they flew over vaſt ſeas to the ut-"termoſt parts of the earth; and, like the latter, "they were ſo ſtrong that nothing could withſtand "them. He ſaid, the feathers of the eagle were "ſoft, and ſignified love; the buffalo's ſkin was "warm, and ſignified protection; and therefore he "hoped the Engliſh would love and protect their "little families." Oglethorpe accordingly accepted the preſent, and after having concluded this treaty

of

of friendſhip with Indians, and placed his colony in the beſt poſture of defence, he returned to Britain, carrying with him Tomochichi, his queen, and ſome more Indians.

On their arrival in London, theſe Indian chiefs were introduced to his Majeſty, while many of the nobility were preſent; when Tomochichi, ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the grandeur of the Britiſh court, addreſſed the King in the following words: "This day I ſee the majeſty of your face, "the greatneſs of your houſe, and the number of "your people;—I am come in my old days, though "I cannot expect to ſee any advantage to myſelf— "I am come for the good of the children of all the "nations of the Lower and Upper Creeks, that they "may be inſtructed in the knowledge of the Engliſh.—Theſe are feathers of the eagle, which is "the ſwifteſt of birds, and which flieth round our "nations.—Theſe feathers are a ſign of peace in "our land, and have been carried from town to "town there.—We have brought them over to leave "them with you, O great King, as a token of e-"verlaſting peace.—O great King, whatever words "you ſhall ſay unto me, I will faithfully tell them "to all the Kings of the Creek nations." To which his Majeſty replied: "I am glad of this op-"portunity of aſſuring you of my regard for the "people from whom you came; and I am extreme-"ly well pleaſed with the aſſurances you have "brought me from them, and accept very gratefully "of this preſent, an indication of their good diſ-"poſitions to me and my people. I ſhall always be "ready to cultivate a good correſpondence between "the Creeks and my ſubjects; and ſhall be glad on "any

Tomochichi's ſpeech to the King.

His majeſty's anſwer.

" any occaſion to ſhew you a mark of my particular " friendſhip."

DURING the whole time theſe Indians were in England, nothing was neglected that might ſerve to engage their affections, and fill them with juſt notions of the greatneſs and power of the Britiſh nation. The nobility, curious to ſee them, and obſerve their manners, entertained them magnificently at their tables. Wherever they went, multitudes flocked around them, ſhaking hands with the rude warriors of the foreſt, giving them little preſents, and treating them with every mark of friendſhip and civility. Twenty pounds a-week were allowed them by the crown while they remained in England, and when they returned, it was computed they carried preſents with them to the value of four hundred pounds ſterling. After ſtaying four months, and ſeeing the grandeur of the Engliſh ſovereign, they were carried to Graveſend in one of his Majeſty's carriages, where they embarked for Georgia, highly pleaſed with the generoſity of the nation, and promiſing eternal fidelity to its intereſt.

Indians eaſieſt managed by gentle and fair means.

THIS generous and kind method of treating barbarians was better policy than that of overawing them by force, and was attended, as might have been expected, with the happieſt conſequences. To ſtrengthen the frontiers of Carolina, and promote the colony of Georgia, nothing could have been conceived more uſeful and effectual than a friendly intercourſe with thoſe ſavages in the neighbourhood. The moſt proper method of managing them was to ſecure the friendſhip of the leading men among them, whoſe influence, however limited

limited by the nature of their government, was nevertheleſs great, as they always directed the public councils in all affairs relative to peace and war. It is true their young men, fond of fame and glory from warlike exploits, and rejoicing in opportunities of diſtinguiſhing themſelves, will now and then, in contempt to the power of their old leaders, break out in ſcalping parties. To moderate and reſtrain the fiery paſſions of the young men, the ſages find generally the greateſt difficulties, eſpecially as theſe paſſions are often rouſed by groſs frauds and impoſitions. Unprincipled and avaricious traders ſometimes reſided among them, who, that they might the more eaſily cheat them, firſt filled the ſavages drunk, and then took all manner of advantages of them in the courſe of traffic. When the Indian recovered from his fit of drunkenneſs, and finding himſelf robbed of his treaſures, for procuring which he had perhaps hunted a whole year, he is filled with fury, and breathes vengeance and reſentment. No authority can then reſtrain him within the bounds of moderation. At ſuch a juncture in vain does the leader of the greateſt influence interpoſe. He ſpurns at every perſon that preſumes to check that arm by which alone he defends his property againſt the hands of fraud and injuſtice. Among themſelves indeed theft is ſcarcely known, and injuries of this kind are ſeldom committed; and had the traders obſerved in general the ſame juſtice and equity in their dealings with them, as they commonly practiſe among themſelves, it would have been an eaſy matter with their wiſe and grave leaders to maintain peace in all the different intercourſes between Europeans and Indians. Tomochichi acknowledged, that the Governor of the world had given the Engliſh great wiſdom, power and riches, inſomuch that they

wanted nothing; he had given Indians great territories, yet they wanted every thing; and he prevailed on the Creeks freely to reſign ſuch lands to the Engliſh as were of no uſe to themſelves, and to allow them to ſettle among them, on purpoſe that they might get inſtruction, and be ſupplied with the various neceſſaries of life. He perſuaded them, that the Engliſh were a generous nation, and would trade with them on the moſt juſt and honourable terms; that they were brethren and friends, and would protect them from danger, and go with them to war againſt all their enemies.

Some ſay that James Oglethorpe, when he came out to ſettle this colony in Georgia, brought along with him Sir Walter Raleigh's journals, written by his own hand; and by the latitude of the place, and the traditions of the Indians, it appeared to him that Sir Walter had landed at the mouth of Savanna river. Indeed during his wild and chimerical attempts for finding out a golden country, it is not improbable that this brave adventurer viſited many different places. The Indians acknowledged that their fathers once held a conference with a warrior who came over the great waters. At a little diſtance from Savanna, there is an high mount of earth, under which they ſay the Indian King lies interred, who talked with the Engliſh warrior, and that he deſired to be buried in the ſame place where this conference was held. But having little authority with reſpect to this matter, we leave the particular relation of it to men in circumſtances more favourable for intelligence.

The colony of Switzers brought to Carolina.

WHILE the ſecurity of Carolina, againſt external enemies, by this ſettlement of Georgia, engaged the attention of Britiſh government, the means of its internal improvement and population at the ſame time were not neglected. John Peter Pury, a native of Neufchatel in Switzerland, having formed a deſign of leaving his native country, paid a viſit to Carolina, in order to inform himſelf of the circumſtances, and ſituation of the province. After viewing the lands there, and procuring all the information he could, with reſpect to the terms of obtaining them, he returned to Britain. The government entered into a contract with him, and, for the encouragement of the people, agreed to give lands and four hundred pounds ſterling for every hundred effective men he ſhould tranſport from Switzerland to Carolina. Pury, while in Carolina, having furniſhed himſelf with a flattering account of the ſoil and climate, and of the excellence and freedom of the provincial government, returned to Switzerland, and publiſhed it among the people. Immediately one hundred and ſeventy poor Switzers agreed to follow him, and were tranſported to the fertile and delightful province as he deſcribed it; and not long afterwards two hundred more came over, and joined them. The Governor, agreeable to inſtructions, allotted forty thouſand acres of lands for the uſe of the Swiſs ſettlement on the north-eaſt ſide of Savanna river; and a town was marked out for their accommodation, which he called Puriſburgh, from the name of the principal promoter of the ſettlement. Mr. Bignion, a Swiſs miniſter, whom they had engaged to go with them, having received epiſcopal ordination from the biſhop of London, ſettled among them for their religious inſtruction. On the one hand the Governor and council,

council, happy in the acquiſition of ſuch a force, alloted each of them his ſeparate tract of land, and gave every encouragement in their power to the people: On the other, the poor Swiſs emigrants began their labours with uncommon zeal and courage, highly elevated with the idea of poſſeſſing landed eſtates, and big with the hopes of future ſucceſs. However, in a ſhort time they felt the many inconveniencies attending a change of climate. Several of them ſickened and died, and others found all the hardſhips of the firſt ſtate of colonization falling heavily upon them. They became diſcontented with the proviſions allowed them, and complained to government of the perſons employed to diſtribute them; and, to double their diſtreſs, the period for receiving the bounty expired before they had made ſuch progreſs in cultivation as to raiſe ſufficient proviſions for themſelves and families. The ſpirit of murmur crept into the poor Swiſs ſettlement, and the people finding themſelves oppreſſed with indigence and diſtreſs, could conſider their ſituation in no other light than a ſtate of baniſhment, and not only blamed Pury for deceiving them, but alſo heartily repented their leaving their native country.

Eleven townſhips marked out.

ACCORDING to the new plan adopted in England for the more ſpeedy population and ſettlement of the province; the Governor had inſtructions to mark out eleven townſhips, in ſquare plats, on the ſides of rivers, conſiſting each of twenty thouſand acres, and to divide the lands within them into ſhares of fifty acres for each man, woman, and child, that ſhould come over to occupy and improve them. Each townſhip was to form a pariſh, and all the inhabitants

were to have an equal right to the river. So ſoon as the pariſh ſhould increaſe to the number of an hundred families, they were to have right to ſend two members of their own election to the Aſſembly, and to enjoy the ſame privileges as the other pariſhes already eſtabliſhed. Each ſettler was to pay four ſhillings a-year for every hundred acres of land, excepting the firſt ten years, during which term they were to be rent free. Governor Johnſon iſſued a warrant to St. John, Surveyor-general of the province, empowering him to go and mark out thoſe townſhips. But he having demanded an exorbitant ſum of money for his trouble, the members of the council agreed among themſelves to do this piece of ſervice for their country. Accordingly eleven townſhips were marked out by them in the following ſituations; two on river Alatamacha, two on Savanna, two on Santee, one on Pedee, one on Wacamaw, one on Wateree, and one on Black rivers.

A ſtruggle about lands.

THE old planters now acquiring every year greater ſtrength of hands, by the large importation of negroes, and extenſive credit from England, began to turn their attention more cloſely than ever to the lands of the province. A ſpirit of emulation broke out among them for ſecuring tracts of the richeſt ground, but eſpecially ſuch as were moſt conveniently ſituated for navigation. Complaints were made to the Aſſembly, that all the valuable lands on navigable rivers and Creeks adjacent to Port-royal had been run out in exorbitant tracts, under colour of patents granted by the Proprietors to Caſſiques and Landgraves, by which the complainants, who had,

had, at the hazard of their lives, defended the country, were hindered from obtaining ſuch lands as could be uſeful and beneficial, at the eſtabliſhed quit-rents, though the Attorney and Solicitor-General of England had declared ſuch patents void. Among others, Job Rothmaller and Thomas Cooper, having been accuſed of ſome illegal practices with reſpect to this matter, a petition was preſented to the Aſſembly by thirty-nine inhabitants of Granville county in their vindication. When the Aſſembly examined into the matter, they ordered their meſſenger forthwith to take into cuſtody Job Rothmaller and Thomas Cooper, for aiding, aſſiſting, and ſuperintending the deputy-ſurveyor in marking out tracks of land already ſurveyed, contrary to the quit-rent act. But Cooper, being taken into cuſtody, applied to Chief Juſtice Wright for a writ of *habeas corpus*, which was granted. The Aſſembly, however, ſenſible of the ill conſequences that would attend ſuch illegal practices, determined to put a ſtop to them by an act made on purpoſe. They complained to the Governor and Council againſt the Surveyor-General, for encouraging land-jobbers, and allowing ſuch liberties as tended to create litigious diſputes in the province, and to involve it in great confuſion. In conſequence of which, the Governor, to give an effectual check to ſuch practices, prohibited St. John to ſurvey lands to any perſon without an expreſs warrant from him. The Surveyor-general, however, determined to make the moſt of his office, and having a conſiderable number to ſupport him, repreſented both Governor and Council as perſons diſaffected to his Majeſty's government, and enemies to the intereſt of the country. Being highly

highly offended at the Aſſembly, he began to take great liberties without doors, and to turn ſome of their ſpeeches into ridicule. Upon which an order was iſſued to take St. John alſo into cuſtody; and then the Commons came to the following ſpirited reſolutions: "That it is the undeni-"able privilege of this Aſſembly to commit ſuch "perſons they may judge to deſerve it: That the "freedom of ſpeech and debate ought not to be im-"peached or queſtioned in any court or place out of "that houſe: That it is a contempt and violation of "the privileges of that houſe, to call in queſtion any "of their commitments: That no writ of *habeas* "*corpus* lies in favour of any perſon committed by "that houſe, and that the meſſenger attending do "yield no obedience to ſuch; and that the Chief "Juſtice be made acquainted with theſe reſolutions." In conſequence of which, Wright complained before the Governor and Council of theſe reſolutions, as tending to the diſſolution of all government, and charged the lower houſe with diſallowing his Majeſty's undoubted prerogative, and with renouncing obedience to his writs of *habeas corpus*. But the Council in general approved of their conduct, and were of opinion, that the Aſſembly of Carolina had that ſame privilege there, that the Houſe of Commons had in England. In ſhort, this affair created ſome trouble in the colony. For while a ſtrong party, from motives of private intereſt, ſupported the Chief Juſtice; the Aſſembly reſolved, "That he appeared "to be prejudiced againſt the people, and was there-"fore unworthy of the office he held, and that it "would tend to the tranquillity of the province im-"mediately to ſuſpend him."

In

In this ſituation was the colony about the end of the year 1733. Each planter, eager in the purſuit of large poſſeſſions of land, which were formerly neglected, becauſe of little value, ſtrenuouſly vied with his neighbour for a ſuperiority of fortune, and ſeemed impatient of every reſtraint that hindered or cramped him in his favourite purſuit. Many favours and indulgences had already been granted them from the Crown, for promoting their ſucceſs and proſperity, and for ſecuring the province againſt external enemies. What farther favours they expected, we may learn from the following Memorial and Repreſentation of the ſtate of Carolina, tranſmitted to his Majeſty, bearing date April 9th, 1734, and ſigned by the Governor, the Preſident of the Council, and the Speaker of the Commons Houſe of Aſſembly.

State of the colony.

"Your Majeſty's moſt dutiful ſubjects of this "province, having often felt, with hearts full of gra- "titude, the many ſignal inſtances of your Majeſty's "peculiar favour and protection, to thoſe diſtant "parts of your dominions, and eſpecially thoſe late "proofs of your Majeſty's moſt gracious and benign "care, ſo wiſely calculated for the preſervation of "this your Majeſty's frontier province on the conti- "nent of America, by your royal charter to the "Truſtees for eſtabliſhing the colony of Georgia, "and your great goodneſs ſo timely applied, for the "promoting the ſettlement of the Swiſs at Puriſ- "burgh; encouraged by ſuch views of your Maje- "ſty's wiſe and paternal care, extended to your re- "moteſt ſubjects, and excited by the duty we owe "to your moſt ſacred Majeſty, to be always watchful

"for

" for the ſupport and ſecurity of your Majeſty's in-
" tereſt, eſpecially at this very critical conjuncture,
" when the flame of a war breaking out in Europe
" may very ſpeedily be lighted here, in this your
" Majeſty's frontier province, which, in ſituation, is
" known to be of the utmoſt importance to the ge-
" neral trade and traffic in America: we, therefore,
" your Majeſty's moſt faithful Governor, Council,
" and Commons, convened in your Majeſty's pro-
" vince of South Carolina, crave leave with great
" humility to repreſent to your Majeſty the preſent
" ſtate and condition of this your province, and how
" greatly it ſtands in need of your Majeſty's gracious
" and timely ſuccour in caſe of a war, to aſſiſt our
" defence againſt the French and Spaniards, or any
" other enemies to your Majeſty's dominions, as well
" as againſt the many nations of ſavages which ſo
" nearly threaten the ſafety of your Majeſty's ſub-
" jects."

" The province of South Carolina, and the new
" colony of Georgia, are the ſouthern frontiers of
" all your Majeſty's dominions on the continent of
" America; to the ſouth and ſouth-weſt of which is
" ſituated the ſtrong caſtle of St. Auguſtine, garri-
" ſoned by four hundred Spaniards, who have ſeve-
" ral nations of Indians under their ſubjection, beſides
" ſeveral other ſmall ſettlements and garriſons, ſome
" of which are not eighty miles diſtant from the co-
" lony of Georgia. To the ſouth-weſt and weſt of
" us the French have erected a conſiderable town,
" near fort Thouloufe on the Moville river, and ſe-
" veral other forts and garriſons, ſome not above
" three hundred miles diſtant from our ſettlements;

" and at New Orleans on the Miſſiſſippi river, ſince
" her late Majeſty Queen Anne's war, they have ex-
" ceedingly increaſed their ſtrength and traffic, and
" have now many forts and garriſons on both ſides
" of that great river for ſeveral hundred miles up the
" ſame; and ſince his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has
" taken out of the Miſſiſſippi Company the govern-
" ment of that country into his own hands, the
" French natives in Canada come daily down in
" ſhoals to ſettle all along that river, where many re-
" gular forces have of late been ſent over by the King
" to ſtrengthen the garriſons in thoſe places, and,
" according to our beſt and lateſt advices, they have
" five hundred men in pay, conſtantly employed as
" wood-rangers, to keep their neighbouring Indians
" in ſubjection, and to prevent the diſtant ones from
" diſturbing the ſettlements; which management of
" the French has ſo well ſucceeded, that we are very
" well aſſured they have now wholly in their poſſeſ-
" ſion and under their influence, the ſeveral numerous
" nations of Indians that are ſituated near the Miſſiſ-
" ſippi river, one of which, called the Choctaws, by
" eſtimation conſiſts of about five thouſand fighting
" men, and who were always deemed a very warlike
" nation, lies on this ſide the river, not above four
" hundred miles diſtant from our out-ſettlements,
" among whom, as well as ſeveral other nations of
" Indians, many French Europeans have been ſent
" to ſettle, whom the prieſts and miſſionaries among
" them encourage to take Indian wives, and uſe di-
" vers other alluring methods to attach the Indians
" the better to the French alliance, by which means
" the French are become throughly acquainted with
" the Indian way, warring and living in the woods,

" and have now a great number of white men among " them, able to perform a long march with an army " of Indians upon any expedition.

" We further beg leave to inform your Majeſty, " that if the meaſures of France ſhould provoke your " Majeſty to a ſtate of hoſtility againſt it in Europe, " we have great reaſon to expect an invaſion will be " here made upon your Majeſty's ſubjects by the " French and Indians from the Miſſiſſippi ſettlements. " They have already paved a way for a deſign of that " nature, by erecting a fort called the Albama fort, " alias Fort Lewis, in the middle of the Upper Creek " Indians, upon a navigable river leading to Mobile, " which they have kept well garriſoned and mounted " with fourteen pieces of cannon, and have lately been " prevented from erecting a ſecond nearer to us on that " quarter. The Upper Creeks are a nation very bold, " active and daring, conſiſting of about two thouſand " five hundred fighting men, (and not above one " hundred and fifty miles diſtant from the Choctaws), " whom, though we heretofore have traded with, " claimed and held in our alliance, yet the French, " on account of that fort and a ſuperior ability to " make them liberal preſents, have been for ſome " time ſtriving to draw them over to their intereſt, " and have ſucceeded with ſome of the towns of the " Creeks; which, if they can be ſecured in your " Majeſty's intereſt, are the only nation which your " Majeſty's ſubjects here can depend upon as the " beſt barrier againſt any attempts either of the " French or their confederate Indians.

" We

"We moſt humbly beg leave farther to inform "your Majeſty, that the French at Mobile perceiving that they could not gain the Indians to their "intereſt without buying their deer-ſkins, (which is "the only commodity the Indians have to purchaſe "neceſſaries with), and the French not being able "to diſpoſe of thoſe ſkins by reaſon of their having "no vent for them in Old France, they have found "means to encourage veſſels from hence, New-York, "and other places, (which are not prohibited by the "acts of trade), to truck thoſe ſkins with them for "Indian trading goods, eſpecially the Britiſh woollen "manufactures, which the French diſpoſe of to the "Creeks and Choctaws, and other Indians, by which "means the Indians are much more alienated from "our intereſt, and on every occaſion object to us that "the French can ſupply them with ſtrouds and blankets as well as the Engliſh, which would have the "contrary effect if they were wholly ſupplied with "thoſe commodities by your Majeſty's ſubjects trading with them. If a ſtop were therefore put to that "pernicious trade with the French, the chief dependence of the Creek Indians would be on this government, and that of Georgia, to ſupply them with "goods; by which means great part of the Choctaws, living next the Creeks, would ſee the advantage the Creek Indians enjoyed by having Britiſh "woollen manufactures wholly from your Majeſty's "ſubjects, and thereby be invited in a ſhort time to "enter into a treaty of commerce with us, which "they have lately made ſome offers for, and which, "if effected, will ſoon leſſen the intereſt of the French "with thoſe Indians, and by degrees attach them to "that of your Majeſty.

" The only expedient we can propoſe to recover " and confirm that nation to your Majeſty's intereſt, " is by ſpeedily making them preſents to withdraw " them from the French alliance, and by building " ſome forts among them your Majeſty may be put " in ſuch a ſituation, that on the firſt notice of ho- " ſtilities with the French, your Majeſty may be a- " ble at once to reduce the Albama fort, and we " may then ſtand againſt the French and their In- " dians, which, if not timely prepared for before a " war breaks out, we have too much reaſon to " fear we may be ſoon over-run by the united " ſtrength of the French, the Creeks and Choctaws, " with many other nations of their Indian allies: " for, ſhould the Creeks become wholly enemies, who " are well acquainted with all our ſettlements, we " probably ſhould alſo be ſoon deſerted by the Che- " rokees, and a few others, ſmall tribes of Indians, " who, for the ſake of our booty, would readily " join to make us a prey to the French and ſavages. " Ever ſince the late Indian war, the offences given " us then by the Creeks have made that nation very " jealous of your Majeſty's ſubjects of this province. " We have therefore concerted meaſures with the " honourable James Oglethorpe, Eſq; who, being " at the head of a new colony, will (we hope) be " ſucceſsful for your Majeſty's intereſt among that " people. He has already by preſents attached the " Lower Creeks to your Majeſty, and has laudably " undertaken to endeavour the fixing a garriſon a- " mong the Upper Creeks, the expence of which is " already in part provided for in this ſeſſion of the " General Aſſembly of this province. We hope there- " fore to prevent the French from encroaching far-

" ther

" ther on your Majeſty's territories, until your Ma-
" jeſty is graciouſly pleaſed further to ſtrengthen and
" ſecure the ſame.

" We find the Cherokee nation has lately become
" very inſolent to your Majeſty's ſubjects trading a-
" mong them, notwithſtanding the many favours the
" chiefs of that nation received from your Majeſty
" in Great-Britain, beſides a conſiderable expence
" which your Majeſty's ſubjects of this province
" have been at in making them preſents, which in-
" clines us to believe that the French, by their In-
" dians, have been tampering with them. We
" therefore beg leave to inform your Majeſty, that
" the building and mounting ſome forts likewiſe a-
" mong the Cherokees, and making them preſents
" will be highly neceſſary to keep them ſteady in
" their duty to your Majeſty, leſt the French may
" prevail in ſeducing that nation, which they may
" the more readily be inclined to from the proſpect
" of getting conſiderable plunder in ſlaves, cattle,
" *&c.* commodities which they very well know we
" have among us, ſeveral other forts will be indiſ-
" penſibly neceſſary, to be a cover to your Majeſty's
" ſubjects ſettled backwards in this province, as alſo
" to thoſe of the colony of Georgia, both which in
" length are very extenſive; for though the truſtees
" for eſtabliſhing the colony of Georgia, by a parti-
" cular ſcheme of good management, painfully con-
" ducted by the gentleman engaged here in that
" charitable enterpriſe, has put that ſmall part of
" the colony, which he has not yet been able to e-
" ſtabliſh, in a tenable condition, againſt the Spani-
" ards of Florida which lie to the ſouthward; yet

" the

" the back expoſition of thoſe colonies to the vaſt " number of French and Indians which border on " the weſtward, muſt, in caſe of a war, cry greatly " aloud for your Majeſty's gracious and timely ſuc- " cour. The expence of our ſafety on ſuch an oc- " caſion, we muſt, with all humility, acquaint your " Majeſty, either for men or money, can never be " effected by your Majeſty's ſubjects of this pro- " vince, who, in conjunction with Georgia, do not " in the whole amount to more than three thouſand " five hundred men, which compoſe the militia, and " wholly conſiſt of planters, tradeſmen, and other " men of buſineſs.

" BESIDES the many dangers which by land we " are expoſed to from ſo many enemies that lie on " the back of us; we further beg leave to repreſent " to your Majeſty, the defenceleſs condition of our " ports and harbours, where any enemies of your " Majeſty's dominions may very eaſily by ſea invade " us, there being no fortifications capable of making " much reſiſtance. Thoſe in Charleſtown harbour are " now in a very ſhattered condition, occaſioned by the " late violent ſtorms and hurricanes, which already " coſt this country a great deal of money, and now " requires ſeveral thouſands of pounds to repair the " old and build new ones, to mount the ordnance " which your Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to ſend " us, which, with great concern, we muſt inform " your Majeſty we have not yet been able to ac- " compliſh, being lately obliged, for the defence and " ſupport of this your Majeſty's province and go- " vernment, to raiſe, by a tax on the inhabitants, a " ſupply of above forty thouſand pounds paper cur-

" rency

" rency *per annum*, which is a conſiderable deal " more than a third part of all the currency among " us; a charge which your Majeſty's ſubjects of this " province are but barely able to ſuſtain. Since " your Majeſty's royal inſtruction to your Majeſty's " Governor here, an entire ſtop has been put to the " duties which before accrued from European goods " imported; and if a war ſhould happen, or any " thing extraordinary, to be farther expenſive here, " we ſhould be under the utmoſt difficulties to pro- " vide additionally for the ſame, leſt an increaſe of " taxes with an apprehenſion of danger, ſhould " drive away many of our preſent inhabitants, as " well as diſcourage others from coming here to ſet- " tle for the defence and improvement of your Ma- " jeſty's province, there being ſeveral daily moving " with their families and effects to North Carolina, " where there are no ſuch fears and burdens.

" We muſt therefore beg leave to inform your " Majeſty, that, amidſt our other perilous circum- " ſtances, we are ſubject to many inteſtine dangers " from the great number of negroes that are now " among us, who amount at leaſt to twenty-two " thouſand perſons, and are three to one of all your " Majeſty's white ſubjects in this province. Inſur- " rections againſt us have been often attempted, and " would at any time prove very fatal if the French " ſhould inſtigate them, by artfully giving them " an expectation of freedom. In ſuch a ſituation " we moſt humbly crave leave to acquaint your " Majeſty, that even the preſent ordinary expences " neceſſary for the care and ſupport of this your " Majeſty's province and government, cannot be pro-

" vided

" vided for by your Majeſty's ſubjects of this pro-
" vince, without your Majeſty's gracious pleaſure to
" continue thoſe laws for eſtabliſhing the duty on ne-
" groes and other duties for ſeven years, and for ap-
" propriating the ſame, which now lie before your
" Majeſty for your royal aſſent and approbation; and
" the further expences that will be requiſite for the
" erecting ſome forts, and eſtabliſhing garriſons in
" the ſeveral neceſſary places, ſo as to form a barrier
" for the ſecurity of this your Majeſty's province, we
" moſt humbly ſubmit to your Majeſty.

" YOUR Majeſty's ſubjects of this province, with
" fulneſs of zeal, duty and affection to your moſt
" gracious and ſacred Majeſty, are ſo highly ſenſible
" of the great importance of this province to the
" French, that we muſt conceive it more than pro-
" bable, if a war ſhould happen, they will uſe all
" endeavours to bring this country under their ſub-
" jection; they would be thereby enabled to ſupport
" their ſugar iſlands with all ſorts of proviſions and
" lumber by an eaſy navigation, which to our great
" advantage is not ſo practicable from the preſent
" French colonies, beſides the facility of gaining
" then to their intereſt moſt of the Indian trade on
" the northern continent; they might then eaſily
" unite the Canadees and Choctaws, with the many
" other nations of Indians which are now in their
" intereſt. And the ſeveral ports and harbours of
" Carolina and Georgia, which now enable your
" Majeſty to be abſolute maſter of the paſſage
" through the Gulf of Florida, and to impede, at
" your pleaſure, the tranſportation home of the Spa-
" niſh treaſure, would then prove ſo many conve-
" nient

"nient harbours for your Majeſty's enemies, by "their privateers or ſhips of war to annoy a great "part of the Britiſh trade to America, as well as "that which is carried on through the Gulf from "Jamaica; beſides the loſs which Great Britain "muſt feel in ſo conſiderable a part of its naviga-"tion, as well as the exports of maſts, pitch, tar, "and turpentine, which, without any dependence "on the northern parts of Europe, are from hence "plentifully ſupplied for the uſe of the Britiſh ſhip-"ping.

"THIS is the preſent ſtate and conditionof your "Majeſty's province of South-Carolina, utterly in-"capable of finding funds ſufficient for the defence "of this wide frontier, and ſo deſtitute of white men, "that even money itſelf cannot here raiſe a ſufficient "body of them.

"WITH all humility we therefore beg leave to "lay ourſelves at the feet of your Majeſty, humbly "imploring your Majeſty's moſt gracious care in "the extremities we ſhould be reduced to on the "breaking out of a war; and that your Majeſty "would be graciouſly pleaſed to extend your protec-"tion to us, as your Majeſty, in your great wiſdom, "ſhall think proper."

IN the mean time the Truſtees for Georgia had been employed in framing a plan of ſettlement, and eſtabliſhing ſuch public regulations as they judged moſt proper for anſwering the great end of the corporation. In this general plan they conſidered each inhabitant both as a planter and a ſoldier, who

The regulations of the Truſtees.

muſt be provided with arms and ammunition for defence, as well as with tools and utenſils for cultivation. As the ſtrength of the province was their chief object in view, they agreed to eſtabliſh ſuch tenures for holding lands in it as they judged moſt favourable for a military eſtabliſhment. Each tract of land granted was conſidered as a military fief, for which the poſſeſſor was to appear in arms, and take the field, when called upon for the public defence. To prevent large tracts from falling in proceſs of time into one hand, they agreed to grant their lands in tail male in preference to tail general. On the termination of the eſtate in tail male, the lands were to revert to the truſt; and ſuch lands thus reverting were to be granted again to ſuch perſons, as the common council of the truſt ſhould judge moſt advantageous for the colony; only the Truſtees in ſuch a caſe were to pay ſpecial regard to the daughters of ſuch perſons as had made improvements on their lots, eſpecially when not already provided for by marriage. The wives of ſuch perſons as ſhould ſurvive them, were to be during their lives entitled to the manſion-houſe, and one-half of the lands improved by their huſbands. No man was to be permitted to depart the province without licence. If any part of the lands granted by the Truſtees, ſhall not be cultivated, cleared, and fenced round about with a worm fence, or pales, ſix feet high, within eighteen years from the date of the grant, ſuch part was to revert to the truſt, and the grant with reſpect to it to be void. All forfeitures for non-reſidence, high-treaſon, felonies, *&c.* were to the Truſtees for the uſe and benefit of the colony. The uſe of negroes was to be abſolutely prohibited,

prohibited, and alſo the importation of rum. None of the coloniſts were to be permitted to trade with Indians, but ſuch as ſhould obtain a ſpecial licence for that purpoſe.

THESE were ſome of the fundamental regulations eſtabliſhed by the Truſtees of Georgia, and perhaps the imagination of man could ſcarcely have framed a ſyſtem of rules worſe adapted to the circumſtances and ſituation of the poor ſettlers, and of more pernicious conſequence to the proſperity of the province. Yet, although the Truſtees were greatly miſtaken, with reſpect to their plan of ſettlement, it muſt be acknowledged their views were generous. As the people ſent out by them were the poor and unfortunate, who were to be provided with neceſſaries at their public ſtore, they received their lands upon condition of cultivation, and by their perſonal reſidence, of defence. Silk and wine being the chief articles intended to be raiſed, they judged negroes were not requiſite to theſe purpoſes. As the colony was deſigned to be a barrier to South Carolina, againſt the Spaniſh ſettlement at Auguſtine, they imagined that negroes would rather weaken than ſtrengthen it, and that ſuch poor coloniſts would run into debt, and ruin themſelves by purchaſing them. Rum was judged pernicious to health, and ruinous to the infant ſettlement. A free trade with Indians was conſidered as a thing that might have a tendency to involve the people in quarrels and troubles with the powerful ſavages, and expoſe them to danger and deſtruction. Such were probably the motives which induced thoſe humane and generous perſons to impoſe ſuch fooliſh and ridiculous reſtrictions on their colony. For by

Their impolitical reſtrictions.

granting their ſmall eſtates in tail male, they drove the ſettlers from Georgia, who ſoon found that abundance of lands could be obtained in America upon a larger ſcale, and on much better terms. By the prohibition of negroes, they rendered it impracticable in ſuch a climate to make any impreſſion on the thick foreſt, Europeans being utterly unqualified for the heavy taſk. By their diſcharging a trade with the Weſt Indies, they not only deprived the coloniſts of an excellent and convenient market for their lumber, of which they had abundance on their lands, but alſo of rum, which, when mixed with a ſufficient quantity of water, has been found in experience the cheapeſt, the moſt refreſhing, and nouriſhing drink for workmen in ſuch a foggy and burning climate. The Truſtees, like other diſtant legiſlators, who framed their regulations upon principles of ſpeculation, were liable to many errors and miſtakes, and however good their deſign, their rules were found improper and impracticable. The Carolineans plainly perceived, that they would prove unſurmountable obſtacles to the progreſs and proſperity of the colony, and therefore from motives of pity began to invite the poor Georgians to come over Savanna river, and ſettle in Carolina, being convinced that they could never ſucceed under ſuch impolitic and oppreſſive reſtrictions.

Besides the large ſums of money which the Truſtees had expended for the ſettlement of Georgia, the Parliament had alſo granted during the two paſt years thirty-ſix thouſand pounds towards carrying into execution the humane purpoſe of the corporation. But

after

after the repreſentation and memorial from the legiſlature of Carolina reached Britain, the nation conſidered Georgia to be of the utmoſt importance to the Britiſh ſettlements in America, and began to make ſtill more vigorous efforts for its ſpeedy population. The firſt embarkations of poor people from England, being collected from towns and cities, were found equally idle and uſeleſs members of ſociety abroad, as they had been at home. An hardy and bold race of men, inured to rural labour and fatigue, they were perſuaded would be much better adapted both for cultivation and defence. To find men poſſeſſed of theſe qualifications, the Truſtees turned their eyes to Germany and the Highlands of Scotland, and reſolved to ſend over a number of Scotch and German labourers to their infant province. When they publiſhed their terms at Inverneſs, an hundred and thirty Highlanders immediately accepted them, and were tranſported to Georgia. A town-ſhip on the river Alatamaha, which was conſidered as the boundary between the Britiſh and Spaniſh territories, was allotted for the Highlanders, on which dangerous ſituation they ſettled, and built a town, which they called New Inverneſs. About the ſame time an hundred and ſeventy Germans embarked with James Oglethorpe, and were fixed in another quarter; ſo that, in the ſpace of three years, Georgia received above four hundred Britiſh ſubjects, and about an hundred and ſeventy foreigners. Afterwards ſeveral adventurers, both from Scotland and Germany, followed their countrymen, and added further ſtrength to the province, and the Truſtees flattered themſelves with the hopes of ſoon ſeeing it in a promiſing condition.

Two Colonies of Highlanders and Germans ſent out.

THE

The ſame year Carolina loſt Robert Johnſon, her favourite Governor, whoſe death was as much lamented by the people, as during his life he had been beloved and reſpected. The province having been much indebted to his wiſdom, courage and abilities, to perpetuate his memory among them, and, in teſtimony of their eſteem, a monument was erected in their church at the public expence. After his deceaſe the government devolved on Thomas Broughton, a plain honeſt man, but little diſtinguiſhed either for his knowledge or valour. As the welfare of the province depended greatly on its government, no man ought to be entruſted with ſuch a charge but men of approved virtue and capacity. There is as much danger ariſing to a community from a feeble and contemptible government, as from an exceſs of power committed to its rulers. Weak and unexperienced hands hold the reins of government with awkwardneſs and difficulty, and being eaſily impoſed upon, their authority ſinks into contempt. At this time many of the leading men of the colony ſcrupled not to practiſe impoſitions, and being eagerly bent on engroſſing lands, the Lieutenant-Governor freely granted them warrants; and the planters, provided they acquired large poſſeſſions, were not very ſcrupulous about the legality of the way and manner in which they were obtained.

Thomas Broughton Lieut.-governor of Carolina.

James Ogletharpe having brought a number of great guns with him from England, now began to fortify Georgia, by erecting ſtrong-holds on its frontiers, where he judged they might be uſeful for its ſafety and protection. At one place, which he called Auguſta,

Ogle-thorpe fortifies Georgia.

guſta, a fort was erected on the banks of Savanna river, which was excellently ſituated for protecting the Indian trade, and holding treaties of commerce and alliance with ſeveral of the ſavage nations. At another place, called Frederica, on an iſland nigh the mouth of the river Alatamaha, another fort, with four regular baſtions, was erected, and ſeveral pieces of cannon were mounted on it. Ten miles nearer the ſea a battery was raiſed, commanding the entrance into the ſound, through which all ſhips of force muſt come that might be ſent againſt Frederica. To keep little garriſons in theſe forts, to help the Truſtees to defray the expences of ſuch public works, ten thouſand pounds were granted by the parliament of Great Britain.

Which gives umbrage to the Spaniards.

While James Oglethorpe was thus buſily employed in ſtrengthening Georgia, he received a meſſage from the Governor of Auguſtine, acquainting him that a Spaniſh Commiſſioner from the Havanna had arrived there, in order to make certain demands of him, and would meet him at Frederica for that purpoſe. At the ſame time he had advice, that three companies of foot had come along with him to that Spaniſh ſettlement. A few days afterwards this Commiſſioner came to Georgia by ſea, and Oglethorpe, unwilling to permit him to come to Frederica, diſpatched a ſloop to bring him into Jekyl Sound, where he intended to hold a conference with him. Here the Commiſſioner had the modeſty to demand, that Oglethorpe and his people ſhould immediately evacuate all the territories to the ſouthward of St. Helena Sound, as they belonged to the King of Spain, who was determined to maintain his

right

right to them; and if he refuſed to comply with his demand, he had orders to proceed to Charleſtown and lay the ſame before the Governor and Council of that province. Oglethorpe endeavoured to convince him that his Catholic Majeſty had been miſinformed with reſpect to thoſe territories, but to no purpoſe; his inſtructions were peremptory, and the conference broke up without coming to any agreement. After which Oglethorpe embarked with all poſſible expedition, and ſailed for England.

During his abſence the ſtrict law of the Truſtees, reſpecting the rum trade, had like to have created a quarrel between the Carolineans and Georgians. The fortification at Auguſta had induced ſome traders of Carolina to open ſtores at that place, ſo conveniently ſituated for commerce with Indian nations. For this purpoſe, land carriage being expenſive, they intended to force their way by water with loaded boats up Savanna river to their ſtores at Auguſta. But as they paſſed the town of Savanna, the magiſtrates raſhly ordered the boats to be ſtopt, the packages to be opened, the caſks of rum to be ſtaved, and the people to be confined. Such injurious treatment was not to be ſuffered; the Carolineans determined to give a check to their inſolence, and for that purpoſe deputed two perſons, one from the Council and another from the Aſſembly, to demand of the Georgians by what authority they preſumed to ſeize and deſtroy the effects of their traders, or to compel them to ſubmit to their code of laws. The magiſtrates of Georgia, ſenſible of their error, made great conceſſions to the deputies, and treated them with the utmoſt civility and reſpect. The goods were inſtantly

ordered to be returned, the people to be ſet at liberty, and all manner of ſatisfaction was given to the deputies they could have expected. Strict orders were ſent to the agents of Georgia among Indians not to moleſt the traders from Carolina, but to give them all the aſſiſtance and protection in their power. The Carolineans, on the other hand, engaged not to ſmuggle any ſtrong liquors among the ſettlers of Georgia, and the navigation on the river Savanna was declared equally open and free to both provinces.

About the ſame time the French took the field againſt the Emperor; and the flames of war kindling between ſuch powerful potentates, would, it was thought, inevitably ſpread, and involve all Europe in the quarrel. In caſe Great Britain ſhould interfere in this matter, and declare in favour of the Emperor, orders were ſent out to the Governors of Quebec and New Orleans to invade the weakeſt frontiers of the Britiſh ſettlements of America. For this purpoſe an army was formed in New France, and preparations were made for uniting the force of Canada and Louiſiana to attack Carolina. But before this deſign was put in execution, advice came, that the clouds of war which threatened Europe were diſperſed, and a general peace was reſtored, by the mediation of Britain and Holland. This put a ſtop to the motions of the main body in Canada; however, a detachment of two hundred French and four hundred Indians were ſent down the Miſſiſſippi, to meet a party from New Orleans to cut off the Chickeſaw Indians. This tribe were the firm allies of Britain, and the braveſt nation of ſavages on the continent, but conſiſted only of between ſix and eight hundred gun-men. The

The brave Chickesaws defeat the French.

French having encroached on their lands, and built some forts nigh them, had on that account drawn upon themselves their invincible enmity and resentment. The Chickesaws had long obstinately opposed their progress up the river Mississippi, and were now the chief obstacle that prevented a regular communication between Louisiana and Canada. The French determined to remove it, by extirpating this troublesome nation, and for this purpose fell down the river in boats to the place where they expected to meet their friends from New Orleans. But the party from the southward not coming up at the time appointed, and the Canadians thinking themselves strong enough for the enterprize, began the war by attacking the Chickesaw towns. Upon which the savages gathered together above three hundred warriors, gave the French battle in an open field, and, though with considerable loss, compleatly defeated them. Above forty Frenchmen and eight Indians were killed on the spot, and the rest were taken prisoners, among whom was their commander, and chief, brother to Monsr. Bienville, Governor of New Orleans. Hard was the fate of the unfortunate prisoners, who for several days were kept almost perishing with hunger in the wilderness, and at last were tied to a stake, tortured, and burned to death. Another party of French from Mobile, in the same year, advanced against the Creeks, who were also unsuccessful, and obliged to retreat with considerable loss. Carolina rejoiced at those disasters, and began now more than ever to court the friendship and interest of these rude nations in their neighbourhood, considering them as the best barrier against their natural enemies.

Religious ſtate of the colony.

By this time the Epiſcopalian form of divine worſhip had gained ground in Carolina, and was more countenanced by the people than any other. That zeal for the right of private judgment had much abated, and thoſe prejudices againſt the hierarchy, which the firſt emigrants carried from England with them, were now almoſt entirely worn off from the ſucceeding generation. To bring about this change, no doubt the well-timed zeal and extenſive bounty of the ſociety, incorporated for the propagation of the Goſpel, had greatly contributed. At this time the corporation had no leſs than twelve miſſionaries in Carolina, each of whom ſhared of their bounty. Indeed, a mild church-government, together with able, virtuous, and prudent teachers, in time commonly give the eſtabliſhment in every country a ſuperiority over all ſectaries. Spacious churches had been erected in the province, which were pretty well ſupplied with clergymen, who were paid from the public treaſury, and countenanced by the civil authority, all which favoured the eſtabliſhed church. The diſſenters of Carolina were not only obliged to erect and uphold their churches, and maintain their clergy by private contributions, but alſo to contribute their ſhare in the way of taxes, in proportion to their ability, equally with their neighbours, towards the maintenance of the poor, and the ſupport of the eſtabliſhment. This indeed many of them conſidered as a grievance, but having but few friends in the provincial aſſembly, no redreſs could be obtained for them. Beſides, the eſtabliſhment gave its adherents many advantageous privileges in point of power and authority over perſons of other denominations. It gave them the beſt chance for being elected members

of the legiſlature, and of courſe of being appointed to offices, both civil and military in their reſpective diſtricts. Over youthful minds, fond of power, pomp and military parade, ſuch advantages have great weight. Diſſenters indeed had the free choice of their miniſters, but even this is often the cauſe of diviſion. When differences happen in a pariſh, the minority muſt yield, and therefore through private pique, diſcontent or reſentment, they often conform to the eſtabliſhment. It is always difficult, and often impoſſible for a miniſter to pleaſe all parties, eſpecially where all claim an equal right to judge and chuſe for themſelves, and diviſions and ſubdiviſions ſeldom fail to ruin the power and influence of all ſectaries. This was evidently the caſe in Carolina: for many of the poſterity of rigid Diſſenters were now found firm adherents to the church of England, which had grown numerous on the ruins of the diſſenting intereſt.

However, the emigrants from Scotland and Ireland, moſt of whom were Preſbyterians, ſtill compoſed a conſiderable party of the province, and kept up the Preſbyterian form of worſhip in it. Archibald Stobo, of whom I have formerly taken notice, by great diligence and ability ſtill preſerved a number of followers. An aſſociation had been formed in favour of this mode of religious worſhip, by Meſſrs. Stobo, Fiſher, and Witherſpoon, three miniſters of the church of Scotland, together with Joſeph Stanyarn, and Joſeph Blake, men of reſpectable characters and conſiderable fortunes. The Preſbyterians had already erected churches at Charles-

town,

town, Wiltown, and in three of the maritime iſlands, for the uſe of the people adhering to that form of religious worſhip. As the inhabitants multiplied, ſeveral more in different parts of the province afterwards joined them, and built churches, particularly at Jackſonburgh, Indian Town, Port-Royal, and Williamſburgh. The firſt clergymen having received their ordination in the church of Scotland, the fundamental rules of the aſſociation were framed according to the forms, doctrines, and diſcipline of that eſtabliſhment, to which they agreed to conform as cloſely as their local circumſtances would admit. Theſe miniſters adopted this mode of religious worſhip, not only from a perſuaſion of its conformity to the primitive Apoſtolic form, but alſo from a conviction of its being, of all others, the moſt favourable to civil liberty, equality, and independence. Senſible that not only natural endowments, but alſo a competent meaſure of learning and acquired knowledge were neceſſary to qualify men for the ſacred function, and enable them to diſcharge the duties of it with honour and ſucceſs, they aſſociated on purpoſe to prevent deluded mechanics, and illiterate novices from creeping into the pulpit, to the diſgrace of the character, and the injury of religion. In different parts of the province, perſons of this ſtamp had appeared, who cried down all eſtabliſhments, both civil and religious, and ſeduced weak minds from the duties of allegiance, and all that the Preſbytery could do was to prevent them from teaching under the ſanction of their authority. But this aſſociation of Preſbyterians having little countenance from government, and no name or authority

The aſſociation of Preſbyterians.

rity in law, their ſucceſs depended wholly on the ſuperior knowledge, popular talents and exemplary life of their miniſters. From time to time clergymen were afterwards ſent out at the requeſt of the people from Scotland and Ireland; and the coloniſts contributed to maintain them, till at length funds were eſtabliſhed in truſt by private legacies and donations, to be appropriated for the ſupport of Preſbyterian miniſters, and the encouragement of that mode of religious worſhip and government.

Remarks on paper-currency.

I HAVE ſeveral times made remarks on the paper-currency of the province, which the planters were always for increaſing, and the merchants and money lenders for ſinking. The exchange of London, like a commercial thermometer, ſerved to meaſure the riſe or fall of paper-credit in Carolina; and the price of bills of exchange commonly aſcertained the value of their current money. The permanent riches of the country conſiſted in lands, houſes, and negroes; and the produce of the lands, improved by negroes, raw materials, proviſions, and naval ſtores, were exchanged for what the province wanted from other countries. The attention of the mercantile part was chiefly employed about ſtaple commodities; and as their great object was preſent profit, it was natural for them to be governed by that great axiom in trade, whoever brings commodities cheapeſt and in the beſt order to market, muſt always meet with the greateſt encouragement and ſucceſs. The planters, on the other hand, attended to the balance of trade, which was turned in their favour, and concluded, that when the exports of any province

vince exceeded its imports, whatever loſſes private perſons might now and then ſuſtain, yet that province upon the whole was growing rich. Let us ſuppoſe, what was indeed far from being the caſe, that Georgia ſo far advanced in improvement as to rival Carolina in raw materials, and exchangeable commodities, and to underſell her at the markets in Europe: This advantage could only ariſe from the ſuperior quality of her lands, the cheapneſs of her labour, or her landed men being contented with ſmaller profits. In ſuch a caſe it was the buſineſs of the Carolina merchants to lower the price of her commodities, in order to reap the ſame advantages with her neighbours; and this could only be done by reducing the quantity of paper-money in circulation. If gold and ſilver only paſt current in Georgia, which by general conſent was the medium of commerce throughout the world, if ſhe had a ſufficient quantity of them to anſwer the purpoſes of trade, and no paper-currency had been permitted to paſs current; in ſuch caſe her commodities would bring their full value at the provincial market, and no more, according to the general ſtandard of money in Europe. Suppoſing alſo that Carolina had a quantity of gold and ſilver in circulation, ſufficient for the purpoſes of commerce, and that the planters, in order to raiſe the value of their produce, ſhould iſſue paper-money equal to the quantity of gold and ſilver in circulation, the conſequence would be, the price of labour, and of all articles of exportation would be doubled. But as the markets of Europe remained the ſame, and her commodities being of the ſame kind and quality with thoſe of Georgia, they would not bring an higher price. Some perſons muſt be loſers, and in the firſt inſtance

this

this loſs muſt fall on the mercantile intereſt, and moneyed men. Therefore this ſuperabundance of paper-credit, on whoſe foundation the deluded province built its viſionary fabric of great wealth, was not only uſeleſs, but prejudicial with reſpect to the community. Paper-money in ſuch large quantities is the bane of commerce, a kind of fictitious wealth, making men by high ſounding language imagine they are worth thouſands and millions, while a ſhip's load of it would not procure for the country a regiment of auxiliary troops in time of war, nor a ſuit of clothes at an European market in time of peace. Had America, from its firſt ſettlement, prohibited paper-money altogether, her ſtaple commodities muſt have brought her, in the courſe of commerce, vaſt ſums of gold and ſilver, which would have circulated through the continent, and anſwered all the purpoſes of trade both foreign and domeſtic. It is true the value of gold and ſilver is equally nominal, and riſes and falls like the value of other articles of commerce, in proportion to the quantity in circulation. But as nations in general have fixed on theſe metals as the medium of trade, this has ſerved to ſtamp a value on them, and render them the means not only of procuring every where the neceſſaries of life, but by ſupporting public credit, the chief means alſo of national protection.

However, ſome diſtinction in point of policy ſhould perhaps be made between a colony in its infancy, and a nation already poſſeſſed of wealth, and in an advanced ſtate of agriculture and commerce, eſpecially while the former is united to, and under

the protection of the latter. To a growing colony, ſuch as Carolina, paper-credit, under certain limitations, was uſeful in ſeveral reſpects; eſpecially as the gold and ſilver always left the country, when it anſwered the purpoſe of the merchant for remittance better than produce. This credit ſerved to procure the planter ſtrength of hands to clear and cultivate his fields, from which the real wealth of the province aroſe. But in an improved country ſuch as England, ſupported by labourers, manufacturers and trade, large emiſſions of paper-money leſſen the value of gold and ſilver, and both cauſe them to leave the country, and its produce and manufactures to come dearer to market. Adventurous planters in Carolina, eager to obtain a number of negroes, always ſtretched their credit with the traders to its utmoſt pitch; for as negroes on good lands cleared themſelves in a few years, they by this means made an annual addition to their capital ſtock. After obtaining this credit, it then became their intereſt to maintain their ſuperiority in aſſembly, and diſcharge their debt to the merchants in the eaſieſt manner they could. The increaſe of paper-money always proved to them a conſiderable aſſiſtance, as it advanced the price of thoſe commodities they brought to the market, by which they cancelled their debts with the merchants; ſo that however much this currency might depreciate, the loſs occaſioned by it from time to time fell not on the adventurous planters, but on the merchants and money-lenders, who were obliged to take it in payment of debts, or produce, which always aroſe in price in proportion to its depreciation.

In excuſe for increaſing provincial paper-money the planters always pled the exigencies of the public, ſuch

as warlike expeditions, raiſing fortifications, providing military ſtores, and maintaining garriſons; thoſe no doubt rendered the meaſure ſometimes neceſſary, and often reaſonable, but private intereſt had alſo conſiderable weight in adopting it, and carrying it into execution. In the year 1737, a bill of exchange on London, for a hundred pounds ſterling, ſold for ſeven hundred and fifty pounds Carolina currency. Of this the merchants might complain, but from this period they had too little weight in the public councils to obtain any redreſs. The only reſource left for them was to raiſe the price of negroes, and Britiſh articles of importation, according to the advanced price of produce, and bills of exchange. However, the exchange again fell to ſeven hundred *per cent.* at which ſtandard it afterwards reſted and remained.

Small progreſs of Georgia.

By this time the poor coloniſts of Georgia, after trial, had become fully convinced of the impropriety and folly of that plan of ſettlement framed by the Truſtees, which, however well intended, was ill adapted to their circumſtances, and ruinous to the ſettlement. In the province of Carolina, which lay adjacent, the coloniſts diſcovered that there they could obtain lands not only on better terms, but alſo liberty to purchaſe negroes to aſſiſt in clearing and cultivating them. They found labour in the burning climate intolerable, and the dangers and hardſhips to which they were ſubjected unſurmountable. Inſtead of raiſing commodities for exportation, the Georgians, by the labour of ſeveral years, were not yet able to raiſe proviſions ſufficient to ſupport themſelves and families. Under ſuch diſcouragements, numbers retired to the Carolina ſide of the river, where they had better proſpects

of

of ſucceſs, and the magiſtrates obſerved the infant colony ſinking into ruin, and likely to be totally deſerted. The freeholders in and round Savanna aſſembled together, and drew up a ſtate of their deplorable circumſtances, and tranſmitted it to the Truſtees, in which they repreſented their ſucceſs in Georgia as a thing abſolutely impoſſible, without the enjoyment of the ſame liberties and privileges with their neighbours in Carolina. In two reſpects they implored relief from the Truſtees; they deſired a fee-ſimple or free title to their lands, and liberty to import negroes under certain limitations, without which they declared they had neither encouragement to labour, nor ability to provide for their poſterity. But the colony of Highlanders, inſtead of joining in this application, to a man remonſtrated againſt the introduction of ſlaves. As they lay contiguous to the Spaniſh dominions, they were apprehenſive that theſe enemies would entice their ſlaves from them in time of peace, and in time of war inſtigate them to riſe againſt their maſters. Beſides, they conſidered perpetual ſlavery as ſhocking to human nature, and deemed the permiſſion of it as a grievance, and which in ſome future day might alſo prove a ſcourge, and make many feel the ſmart of that oppreſſion they ſo earneſtly deſired to introduce. For as the Spaniards had proclaimed freedom to them, they alledged that ſlaves would run away, and ruin poor planters; and at all events would diſqualify them the more for defending the province againſt external enemies, while their families were expoſed to barbarous domeſtics, provoked perhaps by harſh uſage, or grown deſperate through miſery and oppreſſion.

Hardſhips of the firſt ſettlers.

Few perſons who are acquainted with the country will wonder at the complaints of the poor ſettlers in Georgia; for if we conſider the climate to which they were ſent, and the labours and hardſhips they had to undergo, we may rather be aſtoniſhed that any of them ſurvived the firſt year after their arrival. When James Oglethorpe took poſſeſſion of this wilderneſs, the whole was an immenſe thick foreſt, excepting ſavannas, which are natural plains where no trees grow, and a few Indian fields, where the ſavages planted maize for their ſubſiſtence. In the province there were the ſame wild animals, fiſhes, reptiles and inſects, which were found in Carolina. The country in the maritime parts was likewiſe a ſpacious plain, covered with pine trees, where the lands were barren and ſandy; and with narrow ſlips of oaks, hickory, cypreſs, cane, *&c.* where the lands were of a better quality. Rains, thunder-ſtorms, hurricanes, and whirlwinds, were equally frequent in the one province as in the other. Little difference could be perceived in the ſoil, which in both was barren or ſwampy; and the ſame diſeaſes were common to both. The lands being covered with wood, through which the ſea-breezes could not penetrate, there was little agitation in the air, which at ſome ſeaſons was thick, heavy and foggy, and at others clear, cloſe, and ſuffocating, both which are very pernicious to health. The air of the ſwampy land was pregnant with innumerable noxious qualities, inſomuch that a more unwholeſome climate was not perhaps to be found in the univerſe. The poor ſettlers conſidered this howling wilderneſs to which they were brought, to have been deſigned by nature rather for the habitation of wild beaſts than human

human creatures. They found that diſeaſes, or even misfortunes, were in effect equally fatal: for though neither of them might prove mortal, yet either would diſable them from living, and reduce them to a ſtate in which they might more properly be ſaid to periſh than to die.

NOTHING has retarded the progreſs and improvement of theſe ſouthern ſettlements more than the inattention ſhewn to the natural productions of the ſoil, and the preference which has commonly been given to articles tranſplanted from Europe. Over the whole world different articles of produce are ſuited to different ſoils and climates. As Georgia lay ſo convenient for ſupplying the Weſt Indies with maize, Indian peaſe, and potatoes, for which the demand was very great, perhaps the firſt planters could ſcarcely have turned their attention to more profitable articles, but without ſtrength of hands little advantage could be reaped from them. It is true the Weſt-India Iſlands would produce ſuch articles, yet the planters would never cultivate them, while they could obtain them by purchaſe; the lands there ſuited other productions more valuable and advantageous. Abundance of ſtock, particularly hogs and black cattle, might have been raiſed in Georgia for the ſame market. Lumber was alſo in demand, and might have been rendered profitable to the province, but nothing could ſucceed there under the fooliſh reſtrictions of the Truſtees. European grain, ſuch as wheat, oats, barley, and rye, thrived very ill on the maritime parts; and even ſilk and wine were found upon trial by no means to anſwer their expectations. The bounties given for raiſing the latter were an encourage-

couragement to the ſettlers, but either no pains were taken to inſtruct the people in the proper methods of raiſing them, or the ſoil and climate were ill adapted for the purpoſe. The poor and ignorant planters applied themſelves to thoſe articles of huſbandry to which probably they had been formerly accuſtomed, but which poorly rewarded them and left them, after all their toil, in a ſtarved and miſerable condition.

The complaints of the Georgians, however ignorant they might be, ought not to have been entirely diſregarded by the Truſtees. Experience ſuggeſted thoſe inconveniencies and troubles from which they implored relief. The hints they gave certainly ought to have been improved towards correcting errors in the firſt plan of ſettlement, and framing another more favourable and advantageous. Such ſcattered thoughts of individuals ſometimes afford wiſe men materials for forming juſt judgments, and improving towards the eſtabliſhment of the beſt and moſt beneficial regulations. The people governed ought never to be excluded from the attention and regard of their Governors. The honour of the Truſtees depended on the ſucceſs and happineſs of the ſettlers, and it was impoſſible for the people to ſucceed and be happy without thoſe encouragements, liberties and privileges abſolutely neceſſary to the firſt ſtate of colonization. A free title to their land, liberty to chuſe it, and then to manage it in ſuch a manner as appeared to themſelves moſt conducive to their intereſt, were the principal incentives to induſtry; and induſtry, well directed, is the grand ſource of opulence to every country.

It muſt be acknowledged, for the credit of the benevolent Truſtees, that they ſent out theſe emigrants to Georgia under ſeveral very favourable circumſtances. They paid the expences of their paſſage, and furniſhed them with clothes, arms, ammunition, and inſtruments of huſbandry. They gave them lands, and bought for ſome of them cows and hogs to begin their ſtock. They maintained their family during the firſt year of their occupancy, or until they ſhould receive ſome return from their lands. So that if the planters were expoſed to hazards from the climate, and obliged to undergo labour, they certainly entered on their taſk with ſeveral advantages. The taxes demanded, comparatively ſpeaking, were a mere trifle. For their encouragement they wrought entirely for themſelves, and for ſome time were favoured with a free and generous maintenance.

By this time an account of the great privileges and indulgences granted by the crown for the encouragement of emigration to Carolina, had been publiſhed through Britain and Ireland, and many induſtrious people in different parts had reſolved to take the benefit of his Majeſty's bounty. Multitudes of labourers and huſbandmen in Ireland, oppreſſed by landlords and biſhops, and unable by their utmoſt diligence to procure a comfortable ſubſiſtence for their families, embarked for Carolina. The firſt colony of Iriſh people had lands granted them near Santee river, and formed the ſettlement called Williamſburgh townſhip. But notwithſtanding the bounty of the crown, theſe poor emigrants remained for ſeveral years in low and miſerable circumſtances. The rigours of the climate, joined to the want of precaution,

An Iriſh colony planted.

tion, ſo common to ſtrangers, proved fatal to numbers of them. Having but ſcanty proviſions in the firſt age of cultivation, vaſt numbers, by their heavy labour, being both debilitated in body and dejected in ſpirit, ſickened and died in the woods. But as this townſhip received frequent ſupplies from the ſame quarter, the Iriſh ſettlement, amidſt every hardſhip, increaſed in number; and at length they applied to the merchants for negroes, who entruſted them with a few, by which means they were relieved from the ſevereſt part of the labour, then, by their great diligence and induſtry, ſpots of land were gradually cleared, which in the firſt place yielded them proviſions, and in proceſs of time became moderate and fruitful eſtates.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

FOR ſeveral years before an open rupture took place between Great Britain and Spain, no good underſtanding ſubſiſted between thoſe two different courts, neither with reſpect to the privileges of navigation on the Mexican ſeas, nor to the limits between the provinces of Georgia and Florida. On one hand, the Spaniards pretended that they had an excluſive right to ſome latitudes in the bay of Mexico; and, on the other, though the matter had never been clearly aſcertained by treaty, the Britiſh merchants claimed the privilege of cutting logwood on the bay of Campeachy. This liberty indeed had been tolerated on the part of Spain for ſeveral years, and the Britiſh merchants, from avaricious motives, had begun a traffic with the Spaniards, and ſupplied them with goods of Engliſh manufacture. To prevent this illicit trade, the Spaniards doubled the number of ſhips ſtationed in Mexico for guarding the coaſt, giving them orders to board and ſearch every Engliſh veſſel found in thoſe ſeas, to ſeize on all that carried contraband commodities, and confine the ſailors. At length not only ſmugglers, but fair traders were ſearched and detained, ſo that all commerce in thoſe ſeas was entirely obſtructed. The Britiſh merchants again and again complained to the miniſtry of depredations committed, and damages ſuſtained; which indeed produced one remonſtrance after another to the Spaniſh court; all which were anſwered only by evaſive promiſes and delays. The Spaniards flatter-

Trade obſtructed by the Spaniards of Mexico.

ed the Britiſh miniſter, by telling him, they would enquire into the occaſion of ſuch grievances, and ſettle all differences by way of negociation. Sir Robert Walpole, fond of pacific meaſures, and truſting to ſuch propoſals of accommodation, for ſeveral years ſuffered the grievances of the merchants to remain unredreſſed, and the trade of the nation to ſuffer great loſſes.

William Bull Lieut.-governor.

In the year 1738, Samuel Horſley was appointed Governor of South Carolina, but he dying before he left England, the charge of the province devolved on William Bull, a man of good natural abilities, and well acquainted with the ſtate of the province. The garriſon at Auguſtine having received a conſiderable reinforcement, it therefore became the buſineſs of the people of Carolina, as well as thoſe of Georgia, to watch the motions of their neighbours. As the Spaniards pretended a right to that province, they were pouring in troops into Auguſtine, which gave the Britiſh coloniſts ſome reaſon to apprehend they had reſolved to aſſert their right by force of arms. William Bull deſpatched advice to England of the growing power of Spain in Eaſt Florida, and at the ſame time acquainted the Truſtees, that ſuch preparations were making there as evidently portended approaching hoſtilities. The Britiſh miniſters were well acquainted with the ſtate of Carolina, from a late repreſentation tranſmitted by its provincial legiſlature. The Truſtees for Georgia preſented a memorial to the King, giving an account of the Spaniſh preparations, and the feeble and defenceleſs condition of Georgia, and imploring his Majeſty's gracious aſſiſtance. In conſequence

quence of which, a regiment of ſix hundred effective men was ordered to be raiſed, with a view of ſending them to Georgia. The King having made James Oglethorpe Major-General of all the forces of the two provinces, gave him the command of this regiment, and ordered him out for the protection of the ſouthern frontiers of the Britiſh dominions in America.

Ogle-thorpe's regiment ſent to Georgia.

About the middle of the ſame year, the Hector, and Blandford ſhips of war ſailed, to convoy the tranſports which carried General Oglethorpe and his regiment to that province. Forty ſupernumeraries followed the General to ſupply the place of ſuch officers or ſoldiers as might ſicken and die by the change of the climate. Upon the arrival of this regiment, the people of Carolina and Georgia rejoiced, and teſtified their grateful ſenſe of his Majeſty's paternal care in the ſtrongeſt terms. The Georgians, who had been for ſome time harraſſed with frequent alarms, now found themſelves happily relieved, and placed in ſuch circumſtances as enabled them to bid defiance to the Spaniſh power. Parties of the regiment were ſent to the different garriſons, and the expence the Truſtees had formerly been at in maintaining them of courſe ceaſed. The General held his head-quarters at Frederica, but raiſed forts on ſome other iſlands lying nearer the Spaniards, particularly in Cumberland and Jekyl iſlands, in which he alſo kept garriſons to watch the motions of his enemies.

While theſe hoſtile preparations were going on, it behoved General Oglethorpe to cultivate the

firmeſt friendſhip with Indian nations, that they might be ready on every emergency to aſſiſt him. During his abſence the Spaniards had made ſeveral attempts to ſeduce the Creeks, who were much attached to Oglethorpe, by telling them he was at Auguſtine, and promiſed them great preſents in caſe they would pay him a viſit at that place. Accordingly ſome of their leaders went down to ſee the beloved man, but not finding him there, they were highly offended, and reſolved immediately to return to their nation. The Spaniſh Governor, in order to cover the fraud, or probably with a deſign of conveying thoſe leaders out of the way, that they might the more eaſily corrupt their nation; told them, that the General lay ſick on board of a ſhip in the harbour, where he would be extremely glad to ſee them. But the ſavages were jealous of ſome bad deſign, and refuſed to go, and even rejected their preſents and offers of alliance. When they returned to their nation, they found an invitation from General Oglethorpe to all the chieftains to meet him at Frederica, which plainly diſcovered to them the inſidious deſigns of the Spaniards, and helped not a little to increaſe his power and influence among them. A number of their head warriors immediately ſet out to meet him at the place appointed, where the General thanked them for their fidelity, made them many valuable preſents, and renewed the treaty of friendſhip and alliance with them. At this congreſs the Creeks ſeemed better ſatisfied than uſual, agreed to march a thouſand men to the General's aſſiſtance whenever he ſhould demand them, and invited him up to ſee their towns. But as he was then buſy, he excuſed himſelf, by promiſing to viſit them next ſummer,

The Spaniards try in vain to ſeduce the Creeks.

and

and accordingly diſmiſſed them no leſs pleaſed with his kindneſs, than incenſed againſt the Spaniards for their falſehood and deceit.

Matters haſtening to a rupture with Spain.

By this time the King of England had reſolved to vindicate the honour of his crown, and maintain his right to thoſe territories in Georgia, together with the freedom of commerce and navigation in the Mexican ſeas. The pacific ſyſtem of Sir Robert Walpole had drawn upon him the diſpleaſure of the nation, particularly of the mercantile part; and that amazing power and authority he had long maintained began to decline. The ſpirit of the nation was rouzed, inſomuch that the adminiſtration could no longer wink at the inſults, depredations, and cruelties of Spain. Inſtructions were ſent to the Britiſh ambaſſador at the court of Madrid, to demand in the moſt abſolute terms a compenſation for the injuries of trade, which, upon calculation, amounted to two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling; and at the ſame time a ſquadron of ten ſhips of the line, under the command of Admiral Haddock, were ſent to the Mediterranean ſea. This produced an order from the Spaniſh court to their ambaſſador, to allow the accounts of the Britiſh merchants, upon condition that the Spaniſh demand on the South-Sea Company be deducted: and that Oglethorpe be recalled from Georgia, and no more employed in that quarter, as he had there made great encroachments on his Catholic Majeſty's dominions. Theſe conditions were received at the court of Britain with that indignation which might have been expected from an injured and incenſed nation. In anſwer to which the Spaniſh ambaſſador was given to underſtand, that the King of Great Britain was determined never to relinquiſh

relinquiſh his right to a ſingle foot of land in the province of Georgia; and that he muſt allow his ſubjects to make repriſals, ſince ſatisfaction for their loſſes in trade could in no other way be obtained. In this unſettled ſituation, however, matters remained for a little while between thoſe two powerful potentates.

Mutiny in Oglethorpe's camp.

In the mean time preparations were making both in Georgia and Florida, by raiſing fortifications on the borders of the two provinces, to hold each other at defiance. The Britiſh ſoldiers finding themſelves ſubjected to a number of hardſhips in Georgia, to which they had not been accuſtomed in Britain, ſeveral of them were diſcontented and ungovernable. At length a plot was diſcovered in the camp for aſſaſſinating their general. Two companies of the regiment had been drawn from Gibraltar, ſome of whom could ſpeak the Spaniſh language. While ſtationed on Cumberland iſland, the Spaniſh out-poſts on the other ſide could approach ſo near as to converſe with the Britiſh ſoldiers, one of whom had even been in the Spaniſh ſervice, and not only underſtood their language, but alſo had ſo much of a Roman Catholic ſpirit as to harbour an averſion to Proteſtant heretics. The Spaniards had found means to corrupt this villain, who debauched the minds of ſeveral of his neighbours, inſomuch that they united and formed a deſign firſt to murder General Oglethorpe, and then make their eſcape to Auguſtine. Accordingly, on a certain day a number of ſoldiers under arms came up to the General, and made ſome extraordinary demands; which being refuſed, they inſtantly cried out, one and all, and immediately one of them diſcharged his piece at him: and being only at the

the diſtance of a few paces, the ball whizzed over his ſhoulder, but the powder ſinged his clothes, and burnt his face. Another preſented his piece, which flaſhed in the pan; a third drew his hanger and attempted to ſtab him, but the General parrying it off, an officer ſtanding by run the ruffian through the body, and killed him on the ſpot. Upon which the mutineers ran, but were caught and laid in irons. A court-martial was called to try the ringleaders of this deſperate conſpiracy, ſome of whom were found guilty and condemned to be ſhot, in order to deter others from ſuch dangerous attempts.

Nor was this the only concealed effort of Spaniſh policy, another of a more dangerous nature ſoon followed in Carolina, which might have been attended with much more bloody and fatal effects. At this time there were above forty thouſand negroes in the province, a fierce, hardy and ſtrong race, whoſe conſtitutions were adapted to the warm climate, whoſe nerves were braced with conſtant labour, and who could ſcarcely be ſuppoſed to be contented with that oppreſſive yoke under which they groaned. Long had liberty and protection been promiſed and proclaimed to them by the Spaniards at Auguſtine, nor were all the negroes in the province ſtrangers to the proclamation. At different times Spaniſh emiſſaries had been found ſecretly tampering with them, and perſuading them to fly from ſlavery to Florida, and ſeveral had made their eſcape to that ſettlement. Of theſe negro-refugees the Governor of Florida had formed a regiment, appointing officers from among themſelves, allowing them the ſame pay and clothing them in the

ſame

ſame uniform with the regular Spaniſh ſoldiers. The moſt ſenſible part of the ſlaves in Carolina were not ignorant of this Spaniſh regiment, for whenever they run away from their maſters, they conſtantly directed their courſe to this quarter. To no place could negro ſerjeants be ſent for enliſting men where they could have a better proſpect of ſucceſs. Two Spaniards were caught in Georgia, and committed to jail, for enticing ſlaves to leave Carolina and join this regiment. Five negroes, who were cattle hunters at Indian Land, ſome of whom belonged to Captain M'Pherſon, after wounding his ſon and killing another man, made their eſcape. Several more attempting to get away were taken, tried, and hanged at Charleſtown.

A negro inſurrection in Carolina.

While Carolina was kept in a ſtate of conſtant fear and agitation from this quarter, an inſurrection openly broke out in the heart of the ſettlement which alarmed the whole province. A number of negroes having aſſembled together at Stono, firſt ſurpriſed and killed two young men in a warehouſe, and then plundered it of guns and ammunition. Being thus provided with arms, they elected one of their number captain, and agreed to follow him, marching towards the ſouth-weſt with colours flying and drums beating, like a diſciplined company. They forcibly entered the houſe of Mr. Godfrey, and having murdered him, his wife, and children, they took all the arms he had in it, ſet fire to the houſe, and then proceeded towards Jackſonſburgh. In their way they plundered and burnt every houſe, among which were thoſe of Sacheveral, Naſh, and Spry, killing every white perſon they found in them, and compelling the negroes to join them. Governor Bull returning

to Charleſtown from the ſouthward, met them, and, obſerving them armed, quickly rode out of their way. He ſpread the alarm, which ſoon reached the Preſbyterian church at Wiltown, where Archibald Stobo was preaching to a numerous congregation of planters in that quarter. By a law of the province all planters were obliged to carry their arms to church, which at this critical juncture proved a very uſeful and neceſſary regulation. The women were left in church trembling with fear, while the militia, under the command of Captain Bee, marched in queſt of the negroes, who by this time had become formidable from the number that joined them. They had marched above twelve miles, and ſpread deſolation through all the plantations in their way. Having found rum in ſome houſes, and drank freely of it, they halted in an open field, and began to ſing and dance, by way of triumph. During theſe rejoicings the militia diſcovered them, and ſtationed themſelves in different places around them, to prevent them from making their eſcape. The intoxication of ſeveral of the ſlaves favoured the aſſailants. One party advanced into the open field and attacked them, and, having killed ſome negroes, the remainder took to the woods, and were diſperſed. Many ran back to their plantations, in hopes of eſcaping ſuſpicion from the abſence of their maſters; but the greater part were taken and tried. Such as had been compelled to join them contrary to their inclination were pardoned, but all the choſen leaders and firſt inſurgents ſuffered death.

All Carolina was ſtruck with terror and conſternation by this inſurrection, in which above twenty perſons were murdered before it was quelled, and had not the people in that quarter been fortunately collect-

ed together at church, it is probable many more would have ſuffered. Or had it become general, the whole colony muſt have fallen a ſacrifice to their great power and indiſcriminate fury. It was commonly believed, and not without reaſon, that the Spaniards were deeply concerned in promoting the miſchief, and by their ſecret influence and intrigues with ſlaves had inſtigated them to this maſſacre. Having already four companies of negroes in their ſervice, by penetrating into Carolina, and putting the province into confuſion, they might no doubt have raiſed many more. But, to prevent farther attempts, Governor Bull ſent an expreſs to General Oglethorpe with advice of the inſurrection, deſiring him to double his vigilance in Georgia, and ſeize all ſtraggling Spaniards and negroes. In conſequence of which a proclamation was iſſued to ſtop all ſlaves found in that province, offering a reward for every one they might catch attempting to run off. At the ſame time a company of rangers were employed to patrole the frontiers, and block up all paſſages by which they might make their eſcape to Florida.

In the mean time things were haſtening to a rupture in Europe, and a war between England and Spain was thought unavoidable. The plenipotentiaries appointed for ſettling the boundaries between Georgia and Florida, and other differences and miſunderſtandings ſubſiſting between the two crowns, had met at Pardo in convention, where preliminary articles were drawn up; but the conference ended to the ſatisfaction of neither party. Indeed the propoſal of a negotiation, and the appointment of plenipotentiaries, gave univerſal offence to the people of Britain, who breathed nothing but war and vengeance againſt the proud and arrogant Spaniards. The

merchants had loſt all patience under their ſufferings, and became clamorous for letters of repriſal, which at length they obtained. Public credit aroſe, and forwarded hoſtile preparations. All officers of the navy and army were ordered to their ſtations, and with the unanimous voice of the nation war was declared againſt Spain on the 23d of October, 1739.

A war with Spain.

WHILE Admiral Vernon was ſent to take the command of a ſquadron in the Weſt-India ſtation, with orders to act offenſively againſt the Spaniſh dominions in that quarter, to divide their force, General Oglethorpe was ordered alſo to annoy the ſubjects of Spain in Florida by every method in his power. In conſequence of which, the General immediately projected an expedition againſt the Spaniſh ſettlement at Auguſtine. His deſign he communicated by letter to Lieutenant-Governor Bull, requeſting the ſupport and aſſiſtance of Carolina in the expedition. Mr. Bull laid his letter before the provincial aſſembly, recommending to them to raiſe a regiment, and give him all poſſible aſſiſtance in an enterprize of ſuch intereſting conſequence. The aſſembly, ſenſible of the vaſt advantages that muſt accrue to them from getting rid of ſuch troubleſome neighbours, reſolved that ſo ſoon as the General ſhould communicate to them his plan of operations, together with a ſtate of the aſſiſtance requiſite, at the ſame time making it appear that there was a probability of ſucceſs, they would moſt cheerfully aſſiſt him. The Carolineans, however, were apprehenſive, that as that garriſon had proved ſuch a painful thorn in their ſide in time of peace, they would have more to dread from it in time of war; and although the colony had been

A project for invading Florida.

much diſtreſſed by the ſmall-pox and the yellow fever for two years paſt, which had cut off the hopes of many flouriſhing families; the people, nevertheleſs, lent a very favourable ear to the propoſal, and earneſtly wiſhed to give all the aſſiſtance in their power towards diſlodging an enemy ſo malicious and cruel.

Meaſures concerted for this purpoſe.

In the mean time General Oglethorpe was induſtrious in picking up all the intelligence he could reſpecting the ſituation and ſtrength of the garriſon, and finding it in great ſtraits for want of proviſions, he urged the ſpeedy execution of his project, with a view to ſurpriſe his enemy before a ſupply ſhould arrive. He declared, that no perſonal toil or danger ſhould diſcourage him from exerting himſelf towards freeing Carolina from ſuch neighbours as had inſtigated their ſlaves to maſſacre them, and publicly protected them after ſuch bloody attempts. To concert meaſures with the greater ſecrecy and expedition, he went to Charleſtown himſelf, and laid before the legiſlature of Carolina an eſtimate of the force, arms, ammunition, and proviſions, which he judged might be requiſite for the expedition. In conſequence of which, the Aſſembly voted one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, Carolina money, for the ſervice of the war. A regiment, conſiſting of four hundred men, was raiſed, partly in Virginia and partly in North and South Carolina, with the greateſt expedition, and the command was given to Colonel Vanderduſſen. Indians were ſent for from the different tribes in alliance with Britain. Vincent Price, commander of the ſhips of war on that ſtation, agreed to aſſiſt with a naval force conſiſting

ſiſting of four ſhips of twenty guns each, and two ſloops, which proved a great encouragement to the Carolineans, and induced them to enter with double vigour on military preparations. General Oglethorpe appointed the mouth of St. John's river, on the Florida ſhore, for the place of rendezvous, and having finiſhed his preparations in Carolina, ſet out for Georgia to join his regiment, and make all ready for the expedition.

General Oglethorpe marches againſt Florida,

On the 9th of May 1740, the General paſſed over to Florida with four hundred ſelect men of his regiment, and a conſiderable party of Indians; and on the day following inveſted Diego, a ſmall fort, about twenty-five miles from Auguſtine, which after a ſhort reſiſtance ſurrendered by capitulation. In this fort he left a garriſon of ſixty men, under the command of Lieutenant Dunbar, and returned to the place of general rendezvous, where he was joined by Colonel Vanderduſſen, with the Carolina regiment, and a company of Highlanders, under the command of Captain M'Intoſh. But by this time ſix Spaniſh half-galleys, with long braſs nine pounders, and two ſloops loaded with proviſions, had got into the harbour at Auguſtine. A few days afterwards, the General marched with his whole force, conſiſting of above two thouſand men, regulars, provincials and Indians, to Fort Mooſa, ſituated within two miles of Auguſtine, which on his approach the Spaniſh garriſon evacuated, and retired into the town. He immediately ordered the gates of this fort to be burnt, three breaches to be made in its walls, and then proceeded to reconnoitre the town and caſtle.

Not-

NOTWITHSTANDING the diſpatch of the Britiſh army, the Spaniards, during their ſtay at Fort Diego, had collected all the cattle in the woods around them, and drove them into the town; and the General found, both from a view of the works, and the intelligence he had received from priſoners, that more difficulty would attend this enterprize than he at firſt expected. Indeed, if he intended a ſurprize, he ought not to have ſtopped at Fort Diego, for by that delay the enemy had notice of his approach, and time to gather their whole force, and put themſelves in a poſture of defence. The caſtle was built of ſoft ſtone, with four baſtions; the curtain was ſixty yards in length, the parapet nine feet thick; the rampart twenty feet high, caſemated underneath for lodgings, arched over, and newly made bomb-proof. Fifty pieces of cannon were mounted, ſeveral of which were twenty-four pounders. Beſides the caſtle, the town was entrenched with ten ſalient angles, on each of which ſome ſmall cannon were mounted. The garriſon conſiſted of ſeven hundred regulars, two troops of horſe, four companies of armed negroes, beſides the militia of the province, and Indians.

THE General now plainly perceived that an attack by land upon the town, and an attempt to take the caſtle by ſtorm would coſt him dear before he could reduce the place, and therefore changed his plan of operations. With the aſſiſtance of the ſhips of war, which were now lying at anchor off Auguſtine-bar, he reſolved to turn the ſiege into a blockade, and try to ſhut up every channel by which proviſions could be conveyed to the garriſon. For this purpoſe he left

Inveſts Auguſtine.

left Colonel Palmer with ninety-five Highlanders, and forty-two Indians at fort Mooſa, with orders to ſcour the woods around the town, and intercept all ſupplies of cattle from the country by land. And, for the ſafety of his men, he at the ſame time ordered him to encamp every night in a different place, to keep ſtrict watch around his camp, and by all means avoid coming to any action. This ſmall party was the whole force the General left for guarding the land ſide. Then he ſent Colonel Vanderduſſen, with the Carolina regiment, over a ſmall creek, to take poſſeſſion of a neck of land called Point Quartel, above a mile diſtant from the caſtle, with orders to erect a battery upon it; while he himſelf, with his regiment, and the greateſt part of the Indians, embarked in boats, and landed on the iſland of Anaſtatia. In this iſland the Spaniards had a ſmall party of men ſtationed for a guard, who immediately fled to town, and as it lay oppoſite to the caſtle, from this place, the General reſolved to bombard the town. Captain Pierce ſtationed one of his ſhips to guard the paſſage, by way of the Motanzas, and with the others blocked up the mouth of the harbour, ſo that the Spaniards were cut off from all ſupplies by ſea. On the iſland of Anaſtatia batteries were ſoon erected, and ſeveral cannon mounted by the aſſiſtance of the active and enterpriſing ſailors. Having made theſe diſpoſitions, General Oglethorpe then ſummoned the Spaniſh Governor to a ſurrender; but the haughty Don, ſecure in his ſtrong hold, ſent him for anſwer, that he would be glad to ſhake hands with him in his caſtle.

This inſulting anſwer excited the higheſt degree of wrath and indignation in the General's mind, and made him reſolve to exert himſelf to the utmoſt for humbling his pride. The opportunity of ſurprizing the place being now loſt, he had no other ſecure method left but to attack it at the diſtance in which he then ſtood. For this purpoſe he opened his batteries againſt the caſtle, and at the ſame time threw a number of ſhells into the town. The fire was returned with equal ſpirit both from the Spaniſh fort and from ſix half-gallies in the harbour, but ſo great was the diſtance, that though they continued the cannonade for ſeveral days, little execution was done on either ſide. Captain Warren, a brave naval officer, perceiving that all efforts in this way for demoliſhing the caſtle were vain and ineffectual, propoſed to deſtroy the Spaniſh gallies in the harbour, by an attack in the night, and offered to go himſelf and head the attempt. A council of war was held to conſider of and concert a plan for that ſervice; but, upon ſounding the bar, it was found it would admit no large ſhip to the attack, and with ſmall ones it was judged raſh and impracticable, the gallies being covered by the cannon of the caſtle, and therefore that deſign was dropt.

In the mean time the Spaniſh commander obſerving the beſiegers embarraſſed, and their operations beginning to relax, ſent out a detachment of three hundred men againſt Colonel Palmer, who ſurpriſed him at Fort Mooſa, and, while moſt of his party lay aſleep, cut them almoſt entirely to pieces. A few that accidentally eſcaped, went over in a ſmall boat to the Carolina regiment at Point Quartel. Some of the Chickeſaw

Chickeſaw Indians, coming from that fort having met with a Spaniard, cut off his head, agreeable to their ſavage manner of waging war, and preſented it to the General in his camp: but he rejected it with abhorrence, calling them barbarous dogs, and bidding them begone. At this diſdainful behaviour, however, the Chickeſaws were offended, declaring, that if they had carried the head of an Engliſhman to the French, they would not have treated them ſo: and perhaps the General diſcovered more humanity than good policy by it, for thoſe Indians, who knew none of the European cuſtoms and refinements in war, ſoon after deſerted him. About the ſame time the veſſel ſtationed at the Metanzas being ordered off, ſome ſmall ſhips from the Havanna with proviſions, and a reinforcement of men, got into Auguſtine, by that narrow channel, to the relief of the garriſon. A party of Creeks having ſurpriſed one of their ſmall boats, brought four Spaniſh priſoners to the General, who informed him, that the garriſon had received ſeven hundred men, and a large ſupply of proviſions. Then all proſpects of ſtarving the enemy being loſt, the army began to deſpair of forcing the place to ſurrender. The Carolinean troops, enfeebled by the heat, diſpirited by ſickneſs, and fatigued by fruitleſs efforts, marched away in large bodies. The navy being ſhort of proviſions, and the uſual ſeaſon of hurricanes approaching, the commander judged it imprudent to hazard his Majeſty's ſhips, by remaining longer on that coaſt. Laſt of all, the General himſelf, ſick of a fever, and his regiment worn out with fatigue, and rendered unfit for action by a flux, with ſorrow and

Raiſes the ſiege.

regret followed, and reached Frederica about the 10th of July 1740.

THUS ended the unſucceſsful expedition againſt Auguſtine, to the great diſappointment of both Georgia and Carolina. Many heavy reflections were afterwards thrown out againſt General Oglethorpe for his conduct during the whole enterprize. Perhaps the only chance of ſucceſs he had from the beginning was by ſurpriſing this garriſon in the night by ſome ſudden attempt. He was blamed for remaining ſo long at fort Diego, by which means the enemy had full intelligence of his approach, and time to prepare for receiving him. He was charged with timidity afterwards, in making no bold attempt on the town. It was ſaid, that the officer who means to act on the offenſive, where difficulties muſt be ſurmounted, ought to diſplay ſome courage; and that too much timidity in war is often as culpable as too much temerity. Great caution he indeed uſed for ſaving his men, for excepting thoſe who fell by the ſword in fort Mooſa, he loſt more men by ſickneſs than by the hands of the enemy. Though the diſaſter of Colonel Palmer, in which many brave Highlanders were maſſacred, was perhaps occaſioned chiefly by want of vigilance and a diſobedience of orders, yet many were of opinion, that it was too hazardous to have left ſo ſmall a party on the main land, expoſed to ſallies from a ſuperior enemy, and entirely cut off from all poſſibility of ſupport and aſſiſtance from the main body. In ſhort, the Carolineans called in queſtion the General's military judgment and ſkill in many reſpects; and proteſted that he had ſpent the time in barren deliberations, haraſſed the men with unneceſſary

unneceſſary marches, allowed them not a ſufficient quantity of proviſions, and poiſoned them with breakiſh water. He, on the other hand, declared he had no confidence in the firmneſs and courage of the provincials; for that they refuſed obedience to his orders, and at laſt abandoned his camp, and retreated to Carolina. The truth was, ſo ſtrongly fortified was the place, both by nature and art, that probably the attempt muſt have failed, though it had been conducted by the ableſt officer, and executed by the beſt diſciplined troops. The miſcarriage, however, was particularly ruinous to Carolina, having not only ſubjected the province to a great expence, but alſo left it in a worſe ſituation than it was before the attempt.

THE ſame year ſtands diſtinguiſhed in the annals of Carolina, not only for this unſucceſsful expedition againſt the Spaniards, but alſo for a deſolating fire, which in November following broke out in the capital, and laid the half of it in ruins. This fire began about two o'clock in the afternoon, and burnt with unquenchable violence until eight at night. The houſes being built of wood, and the wind blowing hard at north-weſt, the flames ſpread with aſtoniſhing rapidity. From Broad-ſtreet, where the fire kindled, to Granville's Baſtion, almoſt every houſe was at one time in flames, and exhibited an awful and ſtriking ſcene. The vaſt quantities of deer-ſkins, rum, pitch, tar, turpentine and powder, in the different ſtores, ſerved to increaſe the horror, and the more ſpeedily to ſpread the deſolation. Amidſt the cries and ſhrieks of women and children, and the burſting forth of flames in different quarters, occa-

A great fire at Charleſtown.

ſioned by the violent wind, which carried the burning ſhingles to a great diſtance, the men were put into confuſion, and ſo anxious were they about the ſafety of their families, that they could not be prevailed upon to unite their efforts for extinguiſhing the fire. The ſailors from the men of war, and ſhips in the harbour were the moſt active and adventurous hands engaged in the ſervice. But ſuch was the violence of the flames, that it baffled all the art and power of man, and burnt until the calmneſs of the evening cloſed the dreadful ſcene. Three hundred of the beſt and moſt convenient buildings in the town were conſumed, which, together with loſs of goods, and provincial commodities, amounted to a prodigious ſum. Happily few lives were loſt, but the lamentations of ruined families were heard in every quarter. In ſhort, from a flouriſhing condition the town was reduced in the ſpace of ſix hours to the loweſt and moſt deplorable ſtate. All thoſe inhabitants whoſe houſes eſcaped the flames, went around and kindly invited their unfortunate neighbours to them, ſo that two and three families were lodged in places built only for the accommodation of one. After the legiſlature met, to take the miſerable ſtate of the people under conſideration, they agreed to make application to the Britiſh parliament for relief. The Britiſh parliament voted twenty thouſand pounds ſterling, to be diſtributed among the ſufferers at Charleſtown, which relief was equally ſeaſonable and uſeful on the one ſide, as it was generous and noble on the other. No time ſhould obliterate the impreſſions of ſuch benevolent actions. This gift certainly deſerved to be wrote on the table of every heart, in

the

the moſt indelible characters. For all men muſt acknowledge, that it merited the warmeſt returns of gratitude, not only from the unfortunate objects of ſuch bounty, but from the whole province.

WHILE the war between Great Britain and Spain continued, a bill was brought into parliament to prevent the exportation of rice, among other articles of proviſion, to France or Spain, with a view to diſtreſs theſe enemies as much as poſſible. In conſequence of which, a repreſentation to the following effect, in behalf of the province of Carolina, and the merchants concerned in that trade, was preſented to the Houſe of Commons while the bill was depending before them, praying that the article of rice might be excepted out of the bill, and endeavouring to prove, that the prohibiting its importation would be highly detrimental to Great Britain, and in no reſpect ſo to her enemies: "The inhabitants of South "Carolina have not any manufactures of their own, "but are ſupplied from Great Britain with all their "clothing, and the other manufactures by them "conſumed, to the amount of one hundred and "fifty thouſand pounds ſterling a-year. The only "commodity of conſequence produced in South "Carolina is rice, and they reckon it as much their "ſtaple commodity as ſugar is to Barbadoes and Ja-"maica, or tobacco to Virginia and Maryland; ſo "that if any ſtop be put to the exportation of rice "from South Carolina to Europe, it will not only "render the planters there incapable of paying their "debts, but alſo reduce the government of that pro-"vince to ſuch difficulties for want of money, as at "this preſent precarious time may render the whole "colony

A petition in favour of the rice trade.

" colony an eaſy prey to their neighbours the Indians " and Spaniards, and alſo to thoſe yet more danger- " ous enemies their own negroes, who are ready to " revolt on the firſt opportunity, and are eight times " as many in number as there are white men able to " bear arms, and the danger in this reſpect is great- " er ſince the unhappy expedition to Auguſtine.

" From the year 1729, when his Majeſty purchaſed " South Carolina, the trade of it hath ſo increaſed, " that their annual exports and imports of late have " been double the value of what they were in the " ſaid year; and their exports of rice in particular have " increaſed in a greater proportion: for, from the " year 1720 to 1729, being ten years, both included, " the whole export of rice was 264,488 barrels, ma- " king 44,081 tons. From the 1730 to 1739, being " alſo ten years, the whole export of rice was 499,525 " barrels, making 99,905 tons; ſo that the export of " the latter ten years exceeded the former by 235,037 " barrels, or 55,824 tons: and of the vaſt quantities " of rice thus exported, ſcarcely one fifteenth part " is conſumed either in Great Britain or in any part " of the Britiſh dominions; ſo that the produce of " the other fourteen parts is clear gain to the nation; " whereas almoſt all the ſugar, and one fourth part " of the tobacco, exported from the Britiſh colonies, " are conſumed by the people of Great Britain, or " by Britiſh ſubjects; from whence it is evident, that " the national gain ariſing from rice is ſeveral times " as great in proportion, as the national gain ariſing " from either ſugar or tobacco.

" This

"THIS year, *viz.* 1740, in particular, we ſhall export "from South Carolina above ninety thouſand barrels "of rice, of which quantity there will not be three "thouſand barrels uſed here, ſo that the clear na- "tional gain upon that export will be very great; for "at the loweſt computation, of twenty-five ſhillings "ſterling *per* barrel, the eighty-ſeven thouſand barrels "exported will amount in value to one hundred and "eight thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty pounds, at "the firſt hand; whereto there muſt be added the "charge of freight, *&c.* from South Carolina to "Europe, which amount to more than the firſt coſt "of the rice, and are alſo gain to Great Britain; "ſo that the leaſt gain upon this article for the pre- "ſent year will be two hundred and twenty thouſand "pounds, over and above the naval advantage of "annually employing more than one hundred and "ſixty ſhips of one hundred tons each.

"RICE being an enumerated commodity, it can- "not be exported from South Carolina without gi- "ving bond for double the value that the ſame ſhall "be landed in Great Britain, or in ſome of the Bri- "tiſh plantations, excepting to the ſouthward of "Cape Finiſterre, which laſt was permitted by a law "made in the year 1729; and the motive for ſuch "permiſſion was, that the rice might arrive more ſea- "ſonably and in better condition at market. We have "hereunto added an account of the ſeveral quantities "of rice which have been exported from South Ca- "rolina to the different European markets ſince the "ſaid law was made; and it will thereby appear, "that we have not in thoſe ten years been able to "find ſale for any conſiderable quantity of rice in

"Spain;

" Spain; for in all that time we have not ſold above " three thouſand five hundred and ſeventy barrels to " the Spaniards, making only three hundred and " fifty-ſeven barrels annually upon a medium; nor " can we in the time to come expect any alteration in " favour of our rice trade there, becauſe the Spaniards " are ſupplied with an inferior ſort of rice from Tur- " key, *&c.* equally agreeable to them and a great " deal cheaper than ours; the truth whereof appears " by the rice taken in a ſhip called the Baltic Mer- " chant and carried into St. Sebaſtians, where it was " ſold at a price ſo much under the market rate " here, or in Holland, as to encourage the ſending " of it thence to Holland and Hamburgh.

" In France the importation of Carolina rice with- " out licence is prohibited; and though during the " laſt and preſent years there hath, by permiſſion, " been ſome conſumption of it there, yet the whole " did not exceed nine thouſand barrels, and they " have received from Turkey ſo much rice of the " preſent year's growth, as to make that commodity " five ſhillings *per* 100 *lb.* cheaper at Marſeilles than " here, and even at Dunkirk it is one ſhilling and " ſixpence *per* 100 *lb.* cheaper than here; ſo that " there is not any proſpect of a demand for Carolina " rice in France, even if liberty could be obtained " for ſending the ſame to any port of that king- " dom.

" Germany and Holland are the countries where " we find the beſt market for our rice, and there " the greater part of it is conſumed; ſo that the " preſent intended embargo, or prohibitory law,

" cannot have any other effect, in relation to rice, " than that of preventing our allies from uſing what " our enemies do not want, nor we ourſelves con- " ſume more than a twentieth part of, and which is " of ſo periſhable a nature, that even in a cold cli- " mate it doth not keep above a year without decay- " ing, and in a warm climate it periſhes entirely. " The great conſumption of rice in Germany and " Holland is during the winter ſeaſon, when peaſe " and all kinds of pulſe, *&c.* are ſcarce; and the " rice intended for thoſe markets ought to be brought " there before the froſt begins, time enough to be " carried up the rivers; ſo that preventing the ex- " portation only a few days may be attended with " this bad conſequence, that by the froſt the winter " ſale may be loſt.

" And as we have now, *viz.* ſince November " 11th, above ten thouſand barrels of old rice arri- " ved, ſo we may in a few weeks expect double that " quantity, beſides the new crop now ſhipping off " from Carolina; the ſtopping of all which, in a " country where there is not any ſale for it, inſtead " of permitting the ſame to be carried to the only " places of conſumption, muſt ſoon reduce the price " thereof to ſo low a rate, that the merchants who " have purchaſed that rice will not be able to ſell it " for the prime coſt, much leſs will they be able to " recover the money they have paid for duty, freight, " and other charges thereon, which amount to dou- " ble the firſt coſt: for the rice that an hundred " pounds ſterling will purchaſe in South Carolina,

" coſts the importer two hundred more in Britiſh " duties, freight, and other charges *.

" THUS it appears, that by prohibiting the expor- " tation of rice from this kingdom, the merchants " who have purchaſed the vaſt quantities before " mentioned will not only loſe the money it coſt " them, but twice as much more in duties, freight, " and other charges, by their having a periſhable " commodity embargoed in a country where it is " not uſed. Or if, inſtead of laying the prohibition " here, it be laid in South Carolina; that province, " the planters there, and the merchants who deal " with them, muſt all be involved in ruin; the pro- " vince, for want of means to ſupport the expence " of government; the planters, for want of the " means to pay their debts and provide future ſup- " plies; and the merchants, by not only loſing thoſe " debts, but twice as much more in the freight, du- " ties, and other charges, upon rice which they can- " not ſell. So that, in either caſe, a very profitable " colony, and the merchants concerned in the trade

* An Account of Rice exported in Ten Years, after the Province was purchaſed for the King.

	Barrels.
To Portugal, — — — —	83,379
To Gibraltar, — — — —	958
To Spain, — — — —	3,570
To France, — — — —	9,500
To Great Brirain, Ireland, and the Britiſh Plantations,	30,000
To Holland, Hamburgh and Bremen, including 7000 barrels to Sweden and Denmark, — —	372,118
Total quantity exported in thoſe ten years, —	499,525

" of

" of it, would be ruined for the preſent, if not to-
" tally loſt to this kingdom, by prohibiting the ex-
" portation of rice; and all this without doing any
" national good in another way, for ſuch prohibition
" could not in any ſhape diſtreſs our enemies. It is
" therefore humbly hoped, that rice will be excep-
" ted out of the bill now before the honourable
" Houſe of Commons."

As this repreſentation contains a diſtinct account of the produce and trade of the province, and ſhews its uſefulneſs and importance to Great Britain, we judged it worthy of the particular attention of our readers, and therefore have inſerted it. With reſpect to the internal dangers ariſing from the ſavage nature and vaſt number of the ſlaves, mentioned in this and a former ſtate of the province, we ſhall now make ſome remarks, in which we will be naturally led to conſider their miſerable condition, and the harſh treatment to which ſlavery neceſſarily ſubjects them.

Remarks on the treatment of ſlaves.

THAT ſlavery has been practiſed by many of the moſt civilized nations in the world, is indeed a truth evident from the hiſtory of them. In war the conquerors were ſuppoſed to have a right to the life of their captives, inſomuch that they might kill, torture or enſlave them, as they thought proper. Yet, though war may be juſtifiable on the principles of ſelf-preſervation and defence, it is no eaſy matter to vindicate the conqueror's right to murder or enſlave a diſarmed enemy. Slavery in general, like ſeveral other enormities, ought to be aſcribed to the corruption and avarice of men, rather than to any principles of nature and humanity, which evidently teſtify a-

gainſt it; and that vindication which is drawn from the cuſtom and practice of ancient nations in favour of ſuch an inſtitution, is equally applicable to many other enormities which are a ſhame and diſgrace to human nature. Helpleſs children have been expoſed to the fury of wild beaſts; pride and ambition have ſpread their deſolations far and wide; but ſuch practices are not therefore humane and juſt. That many nations have encouraged ſlavery, and that the remains of it are ſtill obſervable among the freeſt of them, are arguments which none will plead for their honour and credit. That ſpecies of ſervitude which ſtill remains in Britain among the labourers in the coal mines, *&c.* is very different from that to which the natives of Africa are ſubjected in the weſtern world; becauſe ſuch labourers voluntarily enter on ſuch ſervitude, they acquire wages as their reward, and both their perſons and properties are under the protection of the laws of the realm.

Upon the ſlighteſt reflection all men muſt confeſs, that thoſe Africans, whom the powers of Europe have conſpired to enſlave, are by nature equally free and independent, equally ſuſceptible of pain and pleaſure, equally averſe from bondage and miſery, as Europeans themſelves. Like all rude nations, they have a ſtrong attachment to their native country, and to thoſe friends and relations with whom they ſpent the early years of life. By this trade being torn from thoſe neareſt connections, and tranſported to a diſtant land, it is no eaſy thing to deſcribe the uneaſineſs and pain they muſt endure from ſuch violence and baniſhment. During the paſſage being loaded with irons, and cooped up in a ſhip, oppreſſed with the moſt gloomy

gloomy apprehenſions, many of them ſicken and die through fear and regret. The proviſions made for the voyage by the merchants and maſters of ſhips, who conſult their worldly intereſt more than the dictates of humanity, we may be ſure are neither of the beſt kind, nor diſtributed among them in the moſt plentiful manner. After their arrival they are ſold and delivered over to the coloniſts, to whoſe temper, language and manners they are utter ſtrangers; where their ſituation for ſome time, in caſe of harſh uſage, is little better than that of the dumb beaſts, having no language but groans in which they can expreſs their pains, nor any friend to pity or relieve them. Some deſtroy themſelves through deſpair, and from a perſuaſion they fondly entertain, that, after death, they will return to their beloved friends and native country.

After the ſale the purchaſers become veſted with the abſolute property of them, according to the laws, uſages, and cuſtoms of the trade, and whatever hardſhips are thereby impoſed on thoſe foreigners, the planters are ſo far excuſable, having the ſanction of the ſupreme legiſlature for the purchaſe they make. The laws of England, from neceſſity or expediency, have permitted ſuch labourers to be imported among them; and therefore, on their part, the purchaſe, however injurious, cannot be illegal. Having acquired this kind of property, it then lies with the coloniſts to frame laws and regulations for the future management of their ſlaves. In doing this, abſolute obedience and non-reſiſtance are fundamental principles eſtabliſhed for the government of them, and enforced by the ſevereſt penalties. All laws framed with reſpect to them, give their maſters

masters such authority over them as is under few limitations. Their power of correction may be said to be only not allowed to extend to death. However severely beat and abused, no negro can bring an action against his owner, or appear as an evidence against white men, in any court of law or justice. Their natural rights as human creatures are entirely disregarded, and punishments are commonly inflicted according to the will of their master, however cruel and barbarous his disposition may be. A common place of correction is instituted, to which they are sent to receive such a number of stripes as their owners shall order, and such blunders have been committed in giving and executing those orders, that the innocent sometimes have suffered along with the guilty. In short, such is their miserable condition, that they are exposed defenceless to the insolence, caprice, and passions of owners, obliged to labour all their life without any prospect of reward, or any hope of an end of their toil until the day of their death. At the decease of their masters they descend, like other estates of inheritance, to the heir at law, and sometimes to thoughtless and giddy youth, habituated from their earliest days to treat them like brutes. At other times, no doubt, they are more fortunate, but their condition of life evidently subjects them to harsh usage even from the best of masters, and we leave the world to judge what they have to expect from the worst.

The hardships of their situation.

Indeed it must be acknowledged, in justice to the planters of Carolina in general, that they treat their slaves with as much, and perhaps more tenderness, than those of any British colony where slavery exists; yet

yet a diſintereſted ſtranger muſt obſerve, even among the beſt of maſters, ſeveral inſtances of cruelty and negligence in the manner of managing their ſlaves. Comparatively ſpeaking, they are well clothed and fed in that province, which while they continue in health fits and qualifies them for their taſk. When they happen to fall ſick, they are carefully attended by a phyſician; in which reſpect their condition is better than that of the pooreſt claſs of labourers in Europe. But in the Weſt Indies, we have been told, they are both covered with rags and have a ſcanty portion of proviſions allowed them, in which caſe urgent neceſſity and pinching hunger muſt often urge them to pilfer, and commit many injuries to which otherwiſe they would have no inclination, and for which they incur ſevere puniſhment. In caſes of violence and murder committed on theſe wretched creatures, it is next to impoſſible to have the delinquents brought to puniſhment; for either the grand jury refuſe to find the bill, or the petty jury bring in the verdict not guilty. When they are tempted to fly to the woods to ſhun ſevere labour or puniſhment, then they may be hunted down or ſhot as wild beaſts. When whipped to death, the murderer, after all, is only ſubjected to an inconſiderable fine, or a ſhort impriſonment, by the provincial laws. It is impoſſible that the Author of nature ever intended human beings for ſuch a wretched ſtate; for ſurely he who gave life, gave alſo an undoubted right to the means of ſelf-preſervation and happineſs, and all the common rights and privileges of nature.

But there is another circumſtance which renders their caſe ſtill more wretched and deplorable. Good maſters

maſters and miſtreſſes, whoſe humanity and a ſenſe of intereſt will not permit them to treat their negroes in a harſh manner, do not always reſide at their plantations. Many planters have ſeveral ſettlements at conſiderable diſtances from the place where they uſually live, which they viſit perhaps only three or four times in a year. In their abſence the charge of negroes is given to overſeers, many of whom are ignorant and cruel, and all totally diſintereſted in the welfare of their charge. In ſuch a caſe it can ſcarcely be expected that juſtice will be equally diſpenſed, or puniſhments properly inflicted. The negroes, however, ly entirely at the mercy of ſuch men, and ſuch monſters they ſometimes are, as can inflict miſery in ſport, and hear the groans extorted from nature with laughter and triumph. All ſlaves under their care muſt yield abſolute obedience to their orders, however unreaſonable and difficult, or ſuffer puniſhment for their diſobedience. It would rouze the anguiſh and indignation of a humane perſon to ſtand by while a puny overſeer chaſtiſes thoſe ſlaves, and behold with what piercing ſtripes he furrows the back of an able negro, whoſe greatneſs of ſoul will not ſuffer him to complain, and whoſe ſtrength could cruſh his tormentor to atoms. The unmerciful whip with which they are chaſtiſed is made of cow-ſkin, hardened, twiſted, and tapering, which brings the blood with every blow, and leaves a ſcar on their naked back which they carry with them to their grave. At the arbitrary will of ſuch managers, many of them with hearts of adamant, this unfortunate race are brought to the poſt of correction, often no doubt through malice and wantonneſs, often for the moſt trifling offences, and ſometimes, O horrid! when entirely innocent.

Can it be deemed wonderful, that ſuch unhappy creatures ſhould now and then be tempted to aſſert the rights of nature? Muſt not ſuch harſh uſage often fire them with deſires of liberty and vengeance? What can be expected but that they ſhould ſometimes give thoſe oppreſſors grounds of fear, who have ſubjected them to ſuch intolerable hardſhips.

But from thoſe labourers in the field the coloniſts have perhaps leſs danger to dread, than from the number of tradeſmen and mechanics in towns, and domeſtic ſlaves. Many negroes diſcover great capacities, and an amazing aptneſs for learning trades; where dangerous tools are uſed, and many owners, from motives of profit and advantage, breed them to be coopers, carpenters, bricklayers, ſmiths, and other trades. Out of mere oſtentation the coloniſts alſo keep a number of them about their families, who attend their tables, and hear their converſation, which very often turns upon their own various arts, plots, and aſſaſſinations. From ſuch open and imprudent converſation thoſe domeſtics may no doubt take dangerous hints, which, on a fair opportunity, may be applied to their owners hurt. They have alſo eaſy acceſs to fire arms, which gives them a double advantage for miſchief. When they are of a paſſionate and revengeful diſpoſition, ſuch domeſtic ſlaves ſeldom want an opportunity of ſtriking a ſudden blow, and avenging themſelves, in caſe of ill uſage, by killing or poiſoning their owners. Such crimes have often been committed in the colonies, and puniſhed; and there is reaſon to believe they have alſo frequently happened, when they have paſſed undiſcovered. Prudence and ſelf-preſervation ſtrongly dictate to the

Carolineans the neceſſity of guarding againſt thoſe dangers which ariſe from domeſtic ſlaves, many of whom are idle, cunning and deceitful.

In other reſpects the policy of the coloniſts, with reſpect to the management and treatment of ſlaves is extremely defective. The hardſhips to which their bodies are expoſed, would be much more tolerable and juſtifiable, were any proviſion made for civilizing and improving their minds. But how grievous their circumſtances when we conſider, that, together with their bodily toil and miſery, they are alſo kept in heathen ignorance and darkneſs, deſtitute of the means of inſtruction, and excluded in a manner from the pale of the Chriſtian church. Humanity places every rational creature upon a level, and gives all an equal title to thoſe rights of nature, which are eſſential to life and happineſs. Chriſtianity breathes a ſpirit of benevolence, gentleneſs, and compaſſion for mankind in general, of what nation or complexion ſoever they be. As government has tolerated and eſtabliſhed ſlavery in the plantations, the ſupreme charge of theſe creatures may be regarded rather as a national than a provincial concern. Being members of a great empire, living under its ſupreme care and juriſdiction, and contributing to the increaſe of trade and commerce, to the improvement and opulence of the Britiſh dominions, they are unqueſtionably entitled to a ſhare of national benevolence and Chriſtian charity. An inſtitution for their religious inſtruction was an object of ſuch uſefulneſs and importance, that it merited the attention of the ſupreme legiſlature; and the expence of a few ſuperb and perhaps empty churches in England, would

Oppreſſed with ignorance and ſuperſtition.

would certainly have been better employed in erecting ſome neat buildings in the plantations for this beneficial purpoſe. To ſuch an inſtitution the merchants of Britain, eſpecially thoſe who owe a great part of their opulence to the labours of Africans, and whoſe plea for the trade was the bringing them within the pale of the Chriſtian church, ought certainly to have contributed in the moſt liberal manner. The profits of the trade, abſtracting from other conſiderations, could well admit of it; but every principle of compaſſion for the ignorant, the poor, and the unfortunate, powerfully dictates the ſame duty, the neglect of which, to every impartial judge, muſt appear in a very inexcuſable and criminal light. Maſters of ſlaves under the French and Spaniſh juriſdictions, are obliged by law to allow them time for inſtruction, and to bring them up in the knowledge and practice of the Catholic religion. Is it not a reproach to the ſubjects of Britain, who profeſs to be the freeſt and moſt civilized people upon earth, that no proviſion is made for this purpoſe, and that they ſuffer ſo many thouſands of theſe creatures, reſiding in the Britiſh dominions, to live and die the ſlaves of ignorance and ſuperſtition? How can they expect the bleſſing of heaven on the riches flowing from their foreign plantations, when they are at no pains to introduce thoſe objects of their care to the knowledge of the true God, and to make them partakers of the benefits and hopes of Chriſtianity.

The advantages of religion, like the other gifts of heaven, ought to be free and common as the air we breathe to every human creature, capable of making a proper uſe and improvement of them. To

the honour of the ſociety for the propagation of the Goſpel it muſt indeed be acknowledged, that they have made ſome efforts for the converſion and inſtruction of thoſe heathens. Not many years ago they had no leſs than twelve miſſionaries in Carolina, who had inſtructions to give all the aſſiſtance in their power for this laudable purpoſe, and to each of whom they allowed fifty pounds a-year, over and above their provincial ſalaries. But it is well known, that the fruit of their labours has been very ſmall and inconſiderable. Such feeble exertions were no ways equal to the extent of the work required, nor to the greatneſs of the end propoſed. Whether their ſmall ſucceſs ought to be aſcribed to the rude and untractable diſpoſitions of the negroes, to the diſcouragements and obſtructions thrown in the way by their owners, or to the negligence and indolence of the miſſionaries themſelves we cannot pretend to determine. Perhaps we may venture to aſſert, that it has been more or leſs owing to all theſe different cauſes. One thing is very certain, that the negroes of that country, a few only excepted, are to this day as great ſtrangers to Chriſtianity, and as much under the influence of Pagan darkneſs, idolatry and ſuperſtition, as they were at their firſt arrival from Africa.

BUT, though neglected by the Britiſh nation, they are entitled to a ſhare of the comon privileges of humanity and Chriſtianity, from their provincial owners. It is their duty and intereſt to uſe ſlaves with tenderneſs and compaſſion, and render them as happy and contented as their ſituation will admit. Were they to allow them certain portions of time from their labours of body for the improvement

improvement of their mind, and open the way for, and provide the means of inſtruction, would not kind uſage be productive of many beneficial effects? The loſs of labour none but avaricious wretches would grudge, and the day of reſt allotted for man and beaſt ſince the beginning of the world, and properly improved for that purpoſe, might of itſelf be attended with good conſequences; whereas, to encourage them to labour on that day for themſelves, is not only robbing them of the opportunities of inſtruction, but abuſing the Sunday, by making it to them the moſt laborious day of the week. It would ſtrike a ſtranger with aſtoniſhment and indignation, to hear the excuſes planters make for this criminal neglect. Some will tell you they are beings of an inferior rank, and little exalted above brute creatures; that they have no ſouls, and therefore no concern need be taken about their ſalvation. Others affirm, that they would become more expert in vice by being taught, and greater knaves by being made Chriſtians. But ſuch advocates for heathen ignorance and barbariſm merit no ſerious notice, being enemies to all improvements in human nature, and all the benefits reſulting to ſociety from civilization and Chriſtianity. Certain it is, the inhabitants of Africa have the ſame faculties with thoſe of Europe. Their minds are equally capable of cultivation, equally ſuſceptible of the impreſſions of religion. Ridiculous is it to imagine, that the black tincture of their ſkin, or the barbarous ſtate in which they were there found, can make any material alteration. Though fortune has put the former under the power of the latter, and aſſigned them the portion of perpetual labour to procure the mere luxuries of life for other

other men; yet, if ſuch a traffic be reaſonable and juſt, there is no crime negroes can commit that may not be defended and juſtified upon the ſame principles. If Europe, to obtain ſugar, rum, rice, and tobacco, has a right to enſlave Africa; ſurely Africa, if ſhe had the power, has a much better right to rob Europe of thoſe commodities, the fruits of her children's labour. Every argument that can be brought in ſupport of the inſtitution of ſlavery, tends to the ſubverſion of juſtice and morality in the world. The beſt treatment poſſible from the coloniſts cannot compenſate for ſo great a loſs. Freedom, in its meaneſt circumſtances, is infinitely preferable to ſlavery, though it were in golden fetters, and accompanied with the greateſt ſplendour, eaſe, and abundance.

If then the greateſt advantages are not a ſufficient compenſation for the loſs of liberty, what ſhall we think of thoſe who deny them the ſmalleſt? But one would imagine that, excluſive of every other motive, perſonal ſafety would even induce the coloniſts to provide for them thoſe advantages which would render them as eaſy and contented as poſſible with their condition. Were they duly impreſſed with a ſenſe of their duty to God and man; were they taught the common rules of honeſty, juſtice, and truth; were their diſpoſitions to humility, ſubmiſſion, and obedience, cultivated and improved; would not ſuch advantages place them more on a level with hired ſervants, who pay a ready and cheerful obedience to their maſters? Were they favoured with the privileges of Chriſtianity, would they not be more faithful and diligent, and better reconciled to their ſervile

vile condition? Beſides, Chriſtianity has a tendency to tame fierce and wild tempers. It is not an eaſy thing to diſplay the great and extenſive influence which the fear of God, and the expectation of a future account, would have upon their minds: Chriſtianity enforces the obligations of morality, and produces a more regular and uniform obedience to its laws. A due ſenſe of the divine preſence, the hopes of his approbation, and the fears of his diſpleaſure, are motives that operate powerfully with the human mind, and in fact would prove ſtronger barriers againſt treſpaſſes, murders, plots, and conſpiracies, than any number of ſtripes from the hands of men, or even the terrors of certain death. Whereas, to keep the minds of human creatures under clouds of darkneſs, neither diſciplined by reaſon, nor regulated by religion, is a reproach to the name of Proteſtants, eſpecially in a land of Chriſtian light and liberty. Sundays and holidays are indeed allowed the negroes in Carolina, the former cannot conſiſtent with the laws be denied them; the latter, as they are commonly ſpent, are nuiſances to the province. Holidays there are days of idleneſs, riot, wantonneſs and exceſs; in which the ſlaves aſſemble together in alarming crowds, for the purpoſes of dancing, feaſting and merriment. At ſuch ſeaſons the inhabitants have the greateſt reaſon to dread miſchief from them; when ſet looſe from their uſual employments, they have fair opportunities of hatching plots and conſpiracies, and of executing them with greater facility, from the intemperance of their owners and overſeers.

After all, it muſt be confeſſed, that the freemen of Carolina themſelves were for many years in a deſtitute condition with reſpect to religious inſtruction; partly owing to their own poverty and the unhealthineſs of the climate, and partly owing to troubles and diviſions ſubſiſting among them during the proprietary government. At that time, the firſt object of their concern would no doubt be to provide for themſelves and their children: but ſince the province has been taken under the royal care, their circumſtances in every reſpect have changed for the better, inſomuch that they are not only able to provide inſtruction for themſelves and families, but alſo to extend the benefit to thoſe living in a ſtate of ſervitude among them. Now they are arrived to ſuch an eaſy and flouriſhing ſituation, as renders their neglect entirely without excuſe. The inſtruction of negroes would no doubt be a difficult, but by no means an impracticable undertaking, and the more difficult the end, the more praiſe and merit would be due to thoſe who ſhould effectually accompliſh it. Even the Catholics of Spain pitied the miſerable condition of negroes living among the proteſtant colonies, and to induce them to revolt, proffered them the advantages of liberty and religion at Auguſtine. Is it not a ſhame to a Proteſtant nation to keep ſuch a number of human creatures ſo long among them, beings of the ſame nature, ſubjects of the ſame government, who have ſouls to be ſaved, and capable of being eternally happy or miſerable in a future world, not only in a miſerable ſtate of ſlavery, but alſo of pagan darkneſs and ſuperſtition. What could be expected from creatures thus doomed to endleſs labour, and depri-

ved of the natural rights of humanity and the privileges of Chriſtianity, but that they ſhould ſnatch at the leaſt glimmering hopes and proſpects of a better ſtate, and give their taſk-maſters reaſon to dread, that they would lay hold of ſome opportunity of forcing their way to it. This inexcuſable negligence with reſpect to them may be conſidered of itſelf as no ſmall ſource of danger to the coloniſts, as the hazard is greater from ſavage and ferocious, than mild and civilized diſpoſitions, and, as the reſtraints of terror and temporal puniſhments are leſs conſtant and powerful than thoſe of conſcience and religion. The political and commercial connection ſubſiſting between the mother country and the colonies, makes the charge of negroes, in reaſon and juſtice, to fall equally upon both. And whatever other men may think, we are of opinion, that an inſtitution for their inſtruction was an object of the higheſt conſequence, and that, by all the laws of God and man, that nation which brought this unfortunate race into ſuch a ſituation, was bound to conſult both their temporal and eternal felicity.

James Glen governor.

About this time James Glen received a commiſſion from his Majeſty, inveſting him with the government of South Carolina, and at the ſame time was appointed colonel of a new regiment of foot to be raiſed in the province. He was a man of conſiderable knowledge, courteous, and polite; exceedingly fond of military parade and oſtentation, which commonly have great force on ordinary minds, and by theſe means he maintained his dignity and importance in the eyes of the people. All governors inveſted with extenſive powers ought to be well acquainted with the common and civil laws of their country; and every wiſe prince will guard againſt

nominating weak or wicked perſons to an high office, which affords them many opportunities of exerciſing their power to the prejudice of the people. When men are promoted to the government of provinces on account of their abilities and merit, and not through the intereſt of friends, then we may expect to ſee public affairs wiſely managed, authority revered, and every man ſitting ſecure under his vine, and enjoying the fruits of his induſtry with contentment and ſatisfaction. But when ſuch offices are beſtowed on ignorant or needy perſons, becauſe they happen to be favourites of ſome powerful and clamorous Lord at court, without any view to the intereſt and happineſs of the people, then avarice and oppreſſion commonly prevail on one hand, and murmur and diſcontent on the other. The appointment of Governor Glen was ſo far proper, as he poſſeſſed thoſe qualifications which rendered his government reſpectable, and the people living under it for ſeveral years happy and contented. His council, conſiſting of twelve men, were appointed alſo by the King, under his ſign manual. The aſſembly of repreſentatives conſiſted of forty-four members, and were elected every third year by the freeholders of ſixteen pariſhes. The court of chancery was compoſed of the Governor and Council, to which court belonged a maſter of chancery and a regiſter. There was a court of vice-admiralty, the Judge, Regiſter, and Marſhal of which were appointed by the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty in England. The Court of King's Bench conſiſted of a Chief Juſtice appointed by the King, who ſat with ſome aſſiſtant juſtices of the province; and the ſame judges conſtituted the Court of Common Pleas. There were likewiſe an Attorney-General,

General, a Clerk, and Provoſt-Marſhal. The Secretary of the province, who was alſo Regiſter, the Surveyor-general of the lands, and the Receiver-general of the quit-rents, were all appointed by the Crown. The Comptroller of the cuſtoms, and three Collectors, at the ports of Charleſtown, Port-Royal, and Georgetown, were appointed by the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms in England. The provincial Treaſurer was appointed by the General Aſſembly. The clergy were elected by the freeholders of the pariſh. All Juſtices of the peace, and officers of the militia, were appointed by the Governor in Council. This is the nature of the provincial government and conſtitution, and in this way were the principal officers of each branch appointed or elected, under the royal eſtabliſhment.

Ld. Carteret's property divided from that of the Crown.

About the ſame time John Lord Carteret (now Earl of Granville) applied by petition to his Majeſty, praying that the eighth part of the lands and ſoil granted by King Charles, and reſerved to him by the act of parliament eſtabliſhing an agreement with the other ſeven Lords Proprietors for the ſurrender of their title and intereſt to his Majeſty, might be ſet apart and allotted to him and his heirs for ever, and propoſing to appoint perſons to divide the ſame; at the ſame time offering to reſign to the King his ſhare of, and intereſt in the government, and to convey, releaſe and confirm to his Majeſty, and his heirs, the other ſeven parts of the province. This petition being referred to the Lords Commiſſioners of trade and plantations, they reported, that it would be for his Majeſty's ſervice that Lord Carteret's property ſhould be ſeparated

from that of his Majeſty, and that the method propoſed by his Lordſhip would be the moſt proper and effectual for the purpoſe. Accordingly five commiſſioners were appointed on the part of the King, and five on that of Lord Carteret, for ſeparating his Lordſhip's ſhare, and making it one entire diſtrict by itſelf. The territory allotted him was divided on the north-eaſt by the line which ſeparated North Carolina from Virginia; on the eaſt by the Atlantic ocean; on the ſouth by a point on the ſea-ſhore, in latitude thirty-five degrees and thirty-four minutes; and, agreeable to the charter, weſtward from theſe points on the ſea-ſhore it extended, in a line parallel to the boundary line of Virginia, to the Pacific Ocean. Not long afterwards, a grant of the eighth part of Carolina, together with all yearly rents and profits ariſing from it, paſſed the great ſeal, to John Lord Carteret and his heirs. But the power of making laws, calling and holding aſſemblies, erecting courts of juſtice, appointing judges and juſtices, pardoning criminals, granting titles of honour, making ports and havens, taking cuſtoms or duties on goods, executing the martial law, exerciſing the royal rights of a county palatine, or any other prerogatives relating to the adminiſtrations of government, were all excepted out of the grant. Lord Carteret was to hold this eſtate upon condition of yielding and paying to his Majeſty and his heirs and ſucceſſors, the annual-rent of one pound thirteen ſhillings and fourpence, on the feaſt of All-Saints, for ever, and alſo one fourth part of all the gold and ſilver ore found within this eighth part of the territory ſo ſeparated and granted him.

As

As Carolina abounds with navigable rivers, while it enjoys many advantages for commerce and trade, it is alſo much expoſed to foreign invaſions. The tide on that coaſt flows from ſix to ten feet perpendicular, and makes its way up into the flat country by a variety of channels All veſſels that draw not above ſeventeen feet water, may ſafely paſs over the bar of Charleſtown, which at ſpring-tides will admit ſhips that draw eighteen feet. This bar lies in thirty-two degrees and forty minutes north latitude, and ſeventy-eight degrees and forty-five minutes weſt longitude from London. Its ſituation is variable, owing to a ſandy foundation and the rapid flux and reflux of the ſea. The channel leading to George-town is twelve or thirteen feet deep, and likewiſe thoſe of North and South Ediſto rivers, and will admit all ſhips that draw not above ten or eleven feet of water. At Stono there is alſo a large creek, which admits veſſels of the ſame draught of water; but Sewee and Santee rivers, and many others of leſs note, are for ſmaller craft, which draw ſeven, eight, or nine feet. The channel up to Port Royal harbour is deep enough for the largeſt ſhips that ſail on the ſea; and the whole royal navy of England may ride with ſafety in it. Nature has evidently ordained this place for trade and commerce, by the many advantages with which ſhe hath favoured it. It lies in thirty-two degrees and five minutes north latitude, and in longitude ſeventy-nine degrees five minutes. Its ſituation renders it an excellent ſtation for a ſquadron of ſhips in time of war, as the run from it is ſhort to the windward iſlands, but eſpecially as it lies ſo convenient for diſtreſſing the immenſe trade coming through the Gulf of Florida. From this harbour ſhips may run out to the Gulf ſtream

The country much expoſed to invaſion.

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in one day, and return with equal eaſe the next, ſo that it would be very difficult to eſcape a ſufficient number of cruizers ſtationed at Beaufort. The harbour is alſo defended by a ſmall fort, built of tappy, which is a kind of cement compoſed of oyſter-ſhells beat ſmall, and mixed with lime and water, which when dry becomes hard and durable. The fort has two demi-baſtions to the river, and one baſtion to the land, with a gate and ditch, mounting ſixteen heavy cannon, and containing barracks for an hundred men.

SEVERAL leagues to the ſouthward of Port-Royal, Savanna river empties itſelf into the ocean, which is alſo navigable for ſhips that draw not above fourteen feet water. At the ſouthern boundary of Georgia the great river Alatamaha falls into the Atlantic ſea, about ſixteen leagues north-eaſt of Auguſtine, which lies in twenty-nine degrees fifty minutes. This river admits ſhips of large burden as far as Frederica, a ſmall town built by General Oglethorpe, on an eminence in Simon's Iſland. The iſland on the weſt end is waſhed by a branch of the river Alatamaha, before it empties itſelf into the ſea at Jekyl ſound. At Frederica the river forms a kind of bay. The fort General Oglethorpe erected here for the defence of Georgia had ſeveral eighteen pounders mounted on it, and commanded the river both upwards and downwards. It was built of tappy, with four baſtions, ſurrounded by a quadrangular rampart, and a paliſadoed ditch, which included alſo the King's ſtores, and two large buildings of brick and timber. The town was ſurrounded with a rampart, in the form of a pentagon, with flankers of the ſame thickneſs with that at the fort,

and

and a dry ditch. On this rampart ſeveral pieces of ordnance were alſo mounted. In this ſituation General Oglethorpe had pitched his camp, which was divided into ſtreets, diſtinguiſhed by the names of the ſeveral Captains of his regiment. Their little huts were built of wood, and conſtructed for holding each four or five men. At ſome diſtance from Frederica was the colony of Highlanders, ſituated on the ſame river, a wild and intrepid race, living in a ſtate of rural freedom and independence. Their ſettlement being near the frontiers, afforded them abundance of ſcope for the exerciſe of their warlike temper; and having received one ſevere blow from the garriſon at Auguſtine, they ſeemed to long for an opportunity of revenging the maſſacre of their beloved friends.

The time was faſt approaching for giving them what they deſired. For although the territory granted by the ſecond charter to the proprietors at Carolina extended far to the ſouth-weſt of the river Alatamaha, the Spaniards had never relinquiſhed their pretended claim to the province of Georgia. Their ambaſſador at the Britiſh court had even declared that his Catholic Majeſty would as ſoon part with Madrid as his claim to that territory. The ſquadron commanded by Admiral Vernon had for ſome time occupied their attention in the Weſt Indies ſo much, that they could ſpare none of their forces to maintain their ſuppoſed right. But no ſooner had the greateſt part of the Britiſh fleet left thoſe ſeas, and returned to England, than they immediately turned their eyes to Georgia, and began to make preparations for diſlodging the Engliſh ſettlers in that province. Finding that

The Spaniards invade Georgia.

that threats could not terrify General Oglethorpe to a compliance with their demands, an armament was prepared at the Havanna to go againſt him, and expel him by force of arms from their frontiers. With this view two thouſand forces, commanded by Don Antonio de Rodondo, embarked at the Havanna, under the convoy of a ſtrong ſquadron, and arrived at Auguſtine in May 1742.

But before this formidable fleet and armament had reached Auguſtine, they were obſerved by Captain Haymer, of the Flamborough man of war, who was cruiſing on that coaſt; and advice was immediately ſent to General Oglethorpe of their arrival in Florida. Georgia now began to tremble in her turn. The General ſent intelligence to Governor Glen at Carolina, requeſting him to collect all the forces he could with the greateſt expedition, and ſend them to his aſſiſtance; and at the ſame time to diſpatch a ſloop to the Weſt Indies, to acquaint Admiral Vernon with the intended invaſion.

Carolina by this time had found great advantage from the ſettlement of Georgia, which had proved an excellent barrier to that province, againſt the incurſions of Spaniards and Spaniſh Indians. The ſouthern parts being rendered ſecure by the regiment of General Oglethorpe in Georgia, the lands backward of Port-Royal had become much in demand, and riſen four times their former value. But though the Carolineans were equally intereſted with their neighbours in the defence of Georgia, having little confidence in General Oglethorpe's

military abilities, ſince his unſucceſsful expedition againſt Auguſtine, the planters, ſtruck with terror, eſpecially thoſe on the ſouthern parts, deſerted their habitations, and flocked to Charleſtown with their families and effects. The inhabitants of Charleſtown, many of whom being prejudiced againſt the man, declared againſt ſending him any aſſiſtance, and determined rather to fortify their town, and ſtand upon their own grounds in a poſture of defence. In this reſolution, however, it is plain they acted from bad motives, in leaving that officer to ſtand alone againſt ſuch a ſuperior force. At ſuch an emergency, good policy evidently required the firmeſt union, and the utmoſt exertion of the force of both colonies; for ſo ſoon as General Oglethorpe ſhould be cruſhed, the reduction of Georgia would open to the common enemy an eaſy acceſs into the bowels of Carolina, and render the force of both provinces, thus divided, unequal to the public defence.

In the mean time General Oglethorpe was making all poſſible preparations at Frederica for a vigorous ſtand. Meſſage after meſſage was ſent to his Indian allies, who were greatly attached to him, and crowded to his camp. A company of Highlanders joined him on the firſt notice, and ſeemed joyful at the opportunity of retorting Spaniſh vengeance on their own heads. With his regiment, and a few rangers, Highlanders, and Indians, the General fixed his head quarters at Frederica, never doubting of a reinforcement from Carolina, and expecting their arrival every day; but in the mean time

determined, in caſe he ſhould be attacked, to ſell his life as dear as poſſible in defence of the province.

About the end of June, 1742, the Spaniſh fleet, amounting to thirty-two ſail, and carrying above three thouſand men, under the command of Don Manuel de Monteano, came to anchor off Simons's bar. Here they continued for ſome time ſounding the channel, and after finding a depth of water ſufficient to admit their ſhips, they came in with the tide of flood into Jekyl ſound. General Oglethorpe, who was at Simons's fort, fired at them as they paſſed the ſound, which the Spaniards returned from their ſhips, and proceeded up the river Alatamaha, out of the reach of his guns. There the enemy having hoiſted a red flag at the mizen top-maſt-head of the largeſt ſhip, landed their forces upon the iſland, and erected a battery, with twenty eighteen pounders mounted on it. Among their land forces they had a fine company of artillery, under the command of Don Antonio de Rodondo, and a regiment of negroes. The negro commanders were clothed in lace, bore the ſame rank with white officers, and with equal freedom and familiarity walked and converſed with their commander and chief. Such an example might juſtly have alarmed Carolina. For ſhould the enemy penetrate into that province, where there were ſuch numbers of negroes, they would ſoon have acquired ſuch a force, as muſt have rendered all oppoſition fruitleſs and ineffectual.

General Oglethorpe having found that he could not ſtop the progreſs of the enemy up the river, and

and judging his ſituation at Fort Simons too dangerous, nailed up the guns, burſt the bombs and cochorns, deſtroyed the ſtores, and retreated to his head quarters at Frederica. So great was the force of the enemy, that he plainly perceived that nothing remained for him to atchieve, with his handful of men, and therefore reſolved to uſe his utmoſt vigilance, and to act only on the defenſive. On all ſides he ſent out ſcouting parties to watch the motions of the Spaniards, while the main body were employed in working at the fortifications, making them as ſtrong as circumſtances would admit. Day and night he kept his Indian allies ranging through the woods, to haraſs the outpoſts of the enemy, who at length brought in five Spaniſh priſoners, who informed him of their number and force, and that the Governor of Auguſtine was commander in chief of the expedition. The General, ſtill expecting a reinforcement from Carolina, uſed all his addreſs in planning meaſures for gaining time, and preventing the garriſon from ſinking into deſpair. For this purpoſe he ſent out the Highland company alſo to aſſiſt the Indians, and obſtruct as much as poſſible the approach of the enemy till he ſhould obtain aſſiſtance and relief. His proviſions for the garriſon were neither good nor plentiful, and his great diſtance from all ſettlements, together with the enemy keeping the command of the river, cut off entirely all proſpects of a ſupply. To prolong the defence, however, he concealed every diſcouraging circumſtance from his little army, which, beſides Indians, did not amount to more than ſeven hundred men; and to animate them to perſeverance, expoſed himſelf to the

ſame hardſhips and fatigues with the meaneſt ſoldier in his garriſon.

WHILE Oglethorpe remained in this ſituation, the enemy made ſeveral attempts to pierce through the woods, with a view to attack the fort; but met with ſuch oppoſition from deep moraſſes, and dark thickets, lined with fierce Indians, and wild Highlanders, that they honeſtly confeſſed that the devil himſelf could not paſs through them to Frederica. Don Manuel de Monteano, however, had no other proſpect left, and theſe difficulties muſt either be ſurmounted, or the deſign dropt; and therefore one party after another was ſent out to explore the thickets, and to take poſſeſſion of every advantageous poſt to be found in them. In two ſkirmiſhes with the Highlanders and Indians, the enemy had one captain, and two lieutenants killed, with above one hundred men taken priſoners. After which the Spaniſh commander changed his plan of operations, and keeping his men under cover of his cannon, proceeded with ſome gallies up the river with the tide of flood, to reconnoitre the fort, and draw the General's attention to another quarter. To this place Oglethorpe ſent a party of Indians, with orders to lie in ambuſcade in the woods, and endeavour to prevent their landing. About the ſame time an Engliſh priſoner eſcaped from the Spaniſh camp, and brought advice to General Oglethorpe of a difference ſubſiſting in it, in ſo much that the forces from Cuba, and thoſe from Auguſtine encamped in ſeparate places. Upon which the General reſolved to attempt a ſurpriſe on one of the

Spaniſh

Spaniſh camps, and taking the advantage of his knowledge of the woods, marched out in the night with three hundred choſen men, the Highland company, and ſome rangers. Having advanced within two miles of the enemy's camp, he halted, and went forward with a ſmall party to take a view of the poſture of the enemy. But while he wanted above all things to conceal his approach, a Frenchman fired his muſket, run off and alarmed the enemy. Upon which Oglethorpe finding his deſign defeated, retreated to Frederica, and being apprehenſive that the deſerter would diſcover his weakneſs, began to ſtudy by what device he might moſt effectually defeat the credit of his informations. For this purpoſe he wrote a letter, addreſſing it to the deſerter, in which he deſired him to acquaint the Spaniards with the defenceleſs ſtate of Frederica, and how eaſy and practicable it would be to cut him and his ſmall garriſon to pieces. He begged him, as his ſpy, to bring them forward to the attack, and aſſure them of ſucceſs; but if he could not prevail with them to make that attempt, to uſe all his art and influence to perſuade them to ſtay at leaſt three days more at Fort Simons, for within that time, according to the advice he had juſt received from Carolina, he would have a reinforcement of two thouſand land-forces, and ſix Britiſh ſhips of war, with which he doubted not he would be able to give a good account of the Spaniſh invaders. He intreated the deſerter to urge them to ſtay, and above all things cautioned him againſt mentioning a ſingle word of Vernon coming againſt Auguſtine, aſſuring him, that for ſuch ſervices he ſhould be amply

A ſtratagem to get rid of the enemy.

ply rewarded by his Britannic Majeſty. This letter he gave to one of the Spaniſh priſoners, who for the ſake of liberty and a ſmall reward, promiſed to deliver it to the French deſerter; but, inſtead of that, as Oglethorpe expected, he delivered it to the commander and chief of the Spaniſh army.

Various were the ſpeculations and conjectures which this letter occaſioned in the Spaniſh camp, and the commander, among others, was not a little perplexed what to infer from it. In the firſt place he ordered the French deſerter to be put in irons, to prevent his eſcape, and then called a council of war, to conſider what was moſt proper to be done in conſequence of intelligence, ſo puzzling and alarming. Some officers were of opinion, that the letter was intended to deceive, and to prevent them from attacking Frederica; others thought that the things mentioned in it appeared ſo feaſible, that there were good grounds to believe, the Engliſh General wiſhed them to take place, and therefore gave their voice for conſulting the ſafety of Auguſtine, and dropping a plan of conqueſt attended with ſo many difficulties, and which, in the iſſue, might perhaps hazard the loſs of both army and fleet, if not of the whole province of Florida. While the Spaniſh leaders were employed in theſe deliberations, and much embarraſſed, fortunately three ſhips of force, which the Governor of South Carolina had ſent out, appeared at ſome diſtance on the coaſt. This correſponding with the letter, convinced the Spaniſh commander of its real

real intent, and ſtruck ſuch a panic into the army, that they immediately ſet fire to their fort, and in great hurry and confuſion embarked, leaving behind them ſeveral cannon, and a quantity of proviſions and military ſtores. The wind being contrary, the Engliſh ſhips could not, during that day, beat up to the mouth of the river, and before next morning the invaders got paſt them, and eſcaped to Auguſtine. The Spaniards retreat to Auguſtine.

In this manner was the province of Georgia delivered, when brought to the very brink of deſtruction by a formidable enemy. Fifteen days had Don Manuel de Monteano been on the ſmall iſland on which Frederica was ſituated, without gaining the ſmalleſt advantage over an handful of men, and in different ſkirmiſhes loſt ſome of his braveſt troops. What number of men Oglethorpe loſt we have not been able to learn, but it muſt have been very inconſiderable. In this reſolute defence of the country he diſplayed both military ſkill and perſonal courage, and an equal degree of praiſe was due to him from the Carolineans as from the Georgians. It is not improbable that the Spaniards had Carolina chiefly in their eye, and had meditated an attack where rich plunder could have been obtained, and where, by an acceſſion of ſlaves, they might have increaſed their force in proportion to their progreſs. Never did the Carolineans make ſo bad a figure in defence of their country. When union, activity and diſpatch were ſo requiſite, they ingloriouſly ſtood at a diſtance, and ſuffering private pique to prevail over public ſpirit, ſeemed determined to riſk the ſafety of their country, rather than

than General Oglethorpe, by their help, ſhould gain the ſmalleſt degree of honour and reputation. Money, indeed, they voted for the ſervice, and at length ſent ſome ſhips, but, by coming ſo late, they proved uſeful rather from the fortunate co-operation of an accidental cauſe, than from the zeal and public ſpirit of the people. The Georgians with juſtice blamed their more powerful neighbours, who, by keeping at a diſtance in the day of danger, had almoſt hazarded the loſs of both provinces. Had the enemy purſued their operations with vigour and courage, the province of Georgia muſt have fallen a prey to the invaders, and Carolina had every thing to dread in conſequence of the conqueſt. Upon the return of the Spaniſh troops to the Havanna, the commander was impriſoned, and ordered to take his trial for his conduct during this expedition, the reſult of which proved ſo ſhameful and ignominious to the Spaniſh arms. Though the enemy threatened to renew the invaſion, yet we do not find that after this repulſe they made any attempts by force of arms to gain poſſeſſion of Georgia.

Ill treatment of General Oglethorpe.

The Carolineans having had little or no ſhare of the glory gained by this brave defence, were alſo divided in their opinions with reſpect to the conduct of General Oglethorpe. While one party acknowledged his ſignal ſervices, and poured out the higheſt encomiums on his wiſdom and courage; another ſhamefully cenſured his conduct, and meanly detracted from his merit. None took any notice of his ſervices, except the inhabitants in and about Port-Royal, who addreſſed him in the following manner: "We the inhabitants of the

" ſouthern parts of Carolina beg leave to congra-
" tulate your Excellency on your late wonderful
" ſucceſs over your and our inveterate enemies the
" Spaniards, who ſo lately invaded Georgia, in
" ſuch a numerous and formidable body, to the
" great terror of his Majeſty's ſubjects in theſe
" ſouthern parts. It was very certain, had the Spa-
" niards ſucceeded in thoſe attempts againſt your
" Excellency, they would alſo have entirely deſtroy-
" ed us, laid our province waſte and deſolate, and
" filled our habitations with blood and ſlaughter;
" ſo that his Majeſty muſt have loſt the fine and ſpa-
" cious harbour of Port-Royal, where the largeſt
" ſhips of the Britiſh nation may remain in ſecurity
" on any occaſion. We are very ſenſible of the
" great protection and ſafety we have long enjoyed,
" by your Excellency being to the ſouthwards of us,
" and keeping your armed ſloops cruiſing on the
" coaſt, which has ſecured our trade and fortunes
" more than all the ſhips of war ever ſtationed at
" Charleſtown; but more by your late reſolution in
" fruſtrating the attempts of the Spaniards, when
" nothing could have ſaved us from utter ruin, next
" to the Providence of Almighty God, but your
" Excellency's ſingular conduct, and the bravery of
" the troops under your command. We think it
" our duty to pray God to protect your Excellency,
" and ſend you ſucceſs in all your undertakings for
" his Majeſty's ſervice; and we aſſure your Excel-
" lency, that there is not a man of us but would
" moſt willingly have ventured his all, in ſupport of
" your Excellency and your gallant troops, had we
" been aſſiſted, and put in a condition to have been
" of ſervice to you; and that we always looked upon

" our intereſt to be ſo united to that of the colony " of Georgia, that had your Excellency been cut " off, we muſt have fallen of courſe."

But while the inhabitants in and about Port-Royal were thus addreſſing General Oglethorpe, reports were circulating in Charleſtown to his prejudice, inſomuch that both his honour and honeſty were called in queſtion. Such malicious rumours had even reached London, and occaſioned ſome of his bills to return to America proteſted. Lieutenant-Colonel William Cook, who owed his preferment to the General's particular friendſhip and generoſity, and who, on pretence of ſickneſs, had left Georgia before this invaſion, had filed no leſs than nineteen articles of complaint againſt him, ſummoning ſeveral officers and ſoldiers from Georgia to prove the charge. As the General had, in fact, ſtretched his credit, exhauſted his ſtrength, and riſqued his life for the defence of Carolina in its frontier colony, ſuch a recompence muſt have been equally provoking, as it was unmerited. We are apt to believe, that ſuch injurious treatment could not have ariſen from the wiſer and better part of the inhabitants, and therefore muſt be ſolely aſcribed to ſome envious and malicious ſpirits, who are to be found in all communities. Envy cannot bear the blaze of ſuperior virtue, and malice rejoices in the ſtains which even falſehood throws on a diſtinguiſhed character; and ſuch is the extenſive freedom of the Britiſh form of government, that every one, even the meaneſt, may ſtep forth as an enemy to great abilities and an unblemiſhed reputation. The charges of envy and malice, Oglethorpe might have treated with contempt; but to vindicate himſelf againſt the rude attacks of an inferior

rior officer, he thought himſelf at this time bound in honour to return to England.

Soon after his arrival a court-martial of general officers was called, who ſat two days at the Horſe Guards, examining one by one the various articles of complaint lodged againſt him. After the moſt mature examination, the board adjudged the charge to be falſe, malicious, and groundleſs, and reported the ſame to his Majeſty. In conſequence of which Lieutenant-Colonel Cook was diſmiſſed from the ſervice, and declared incapable of ſerving his Majeſty in any military capacity whatever. By this means the character of General Oglethorpe was diveſted of thoſe dark ſtains with which it had been overclouded, and began to appear to the world in its true and favourable light. Carolina owed this benefactor her friendſhip and love. Georgia was indebted to him for both her exiſtence and protection. Indeed his generous ſervices for both colonies deſerved to be deeply imprinted on the memory of every inhabitant, and the benefits reſulting from them to be remembered to the lateſt age with joy and gratitude.

His character cleared, and conduct vindicated.

After this period General Oglethorpe never returned to the province of Georgia, but upon all occaſions diſcovered in England an uncommon zeal for its proſperity and improvement. From its firſt ſettlement the colony had hitherto been under a military government, executed by the General and ſuch officers as he thought proper to nominate and appoint. But now the Truſtees thought proper to eſtabliſh a kind of civil government, and committed the charge of it to a preſident and four aſſiſtants,

ants, who were to act agreeable to the inſtructions they ſhould receive from them, and to be accountable to that corporation for their public conduct. William Stephens was made chief magiſtrate, and Thomas Jones, Henry Parker, John Fallowfield, and Samuel Mercer, were appointed aſſiſtants. They were inſtructed to hold four general courts at Savanna every year, for regulating public affairs, and determining all differences relating to private property. No public money could be diſpoſed of but by a warrant under the ſeal of the Preſident and major part of the Aſſiſtants in council aſſembled, who were enjoined to ſend monthly accounts to England of money expended, and of the particular ſervices to which it was applied. All officers of militia were continued, for the purpoſe of holding muſters, and keeping the men properly trained for military ſervices; and Oglethorpe's regiment was left in the colony for its defence.

By this time the Truſtees had tranſported to Georgia, at different times, above one thouſand five hundred men, women and children. As the colony was intended as a barrier to Carolina, by their charter the Truſtees were at firſt laid under ſeveral reſtraints with reſpect to the method of granting lands, as well as the ſettlers with reſpect to the terms of holding and diſpoſing of them. Now it was found expedient to relieve both the former and latter from thoſe fooliſh and impolitic reſtrictions. Under the care of General Oglethorpe the infant province had ſurmounted many difficulties, yet ſtill it promiſed a poor recompenſe to Britain for the vaſt ſums of money expended for its protection. The indigent emigrants, eſpecially thoſe from England, having little acquaintance with huſbandry, and leſs inclination

clination to labour, made bad ſettlers; and as greater privileges were allowed them on the Carolina ſide of the river, they were eaſily decoyed away to that colony. The Highlanders and Germans indeed, being more frugal and induſtrious, ſucceeded better, but hitherto had made very ſmall progreſs, owing partly to wars with the Spaniards, and to ſevere hardſhips attending all kinds of culture in ſuch an unhealthy climate and woody country. The ſtaple commodities intended to be raiſed in Georgia were ſilk and wine, which were indeed very profitable articles; but ſo ſmall was the improvement made in them, that they had hitherto turned out to little account. The moſt induſtrious and ſucceſsful ſettlers could as yet ſcarcely provide for their families, and the unfortunate, the ſick, and indolent part, remained in a ſtarved and miſerable condition.

The Carolineans petition for three independent companies.

Soon after the departure of General Oglethorpe, the Carolineans petitioned the King, praying that three independent companies, conſiſting each of an hundred men, might be raiſed in the colonies, paid by Great Britain, and ſtationed in Carolina, to be entirely under the command of the Governor and Council of that province. This petition was referred to the Lords of his Majeſty's Privy-council, and a time appointed for conſidering, whether the preſent ſtate of Carolina was ſuch as rendered this additional charge to the nation proper and neceſſary. Two reaſons were aſſigned by the coloniſts for the neceſſity of this military force: the firſt was, to preſerve peace and ſecurity at home; the ſecond, to protect the colony againſt foreign invaſions. They alledged, that as the country was overſtocked with negroes, ſuch a military

military force was requiſite to overawe them, and prevent inſurrections; and as the coaſt was ſo extenſive, and the ports lay expoſed to every French and Spaniſh plunderer that might at any time invade the province, their ſecurity againſt ſuch attempts was of the higheſt conſequence to the nation. But though they afterwards obtained ſome independent companies, thoſe reaſons, at this time, did not appear to the Privy-council of weight ſufficient to induce them to give their advice for this military eſtabliſhment. It was their opinion, that it belonged to the provincial legiſlature to make proper laws for limiting the importation of negroes, and regulating and reſtraining them when imported; rather than put the mother country to the expence of keeping a ſtanding force in the province to overawe them: that Georgia, and the Indians on the Apalachian hills, were a barrier againſt foreign enemies on the weſtern frontiers: that Fort Johnſon, and the fortifications in Charleſtown, were a ſufficient protection for that port; beſides, that as the entrance over the bar was ſo difficult to ſtrangers, before a foreign enemy could land five hundred men in that town, half the militia in the province might be collected for its defence. Georgetown and Port-Royal indeed were expoſed, but the inhabitants being both few in number and poor, it could not be worth the pains and riſque of a ſingle privateer to look into thoſe harbours. For which reaſons it was judged, that Carolina could be in little danger till a foreign enemy had poſſeſſion of Georgia; and therefore it was agreed to maintain Oglethorpe's regiment in that ſettlement complete; and give orders to the commandant to ſend detachments to the forts in James's Iſland, Port-Royal, and ſuch other places where their ſervice might be thought

uſeful

uſeful and neceſſary to the provincial ſafety and defence.

MANY are the advantages Carolina has derived from its political and commercial connection with Britain. Its growing and flouriſhing ſtate the colony owes almoſt entirely to the mother-country, without the protection and indulgence of which, the people had little or no encouragement to be induſtrious. Britain firſt furniſhed a number of bold and enterpriſing ſettlers, who carried with them the knowledge, arts, and improvements of a civilized nation. This may be ſaid to be the chief favour for which Carolina ſtands indebted to the parent ſtate during the proprietary government. But ſince the province has been taken under the royal care, it has been nurſed and protected by a rich and powerful nation. Its government has been ſtable, private property ſecure, and the privileges and liberties of the people have been extenſive. Lands the planters obtained from the King at a cheap rate. To cultivate them the mother-country furniſhed them with labourers upon credit. Each perſon had entire liberty to manage his affairs for his own profit and advantage, and having no tythes, and very trifling taxes to pay, reaped almoſt the whole fruits of his induſtry. The beſt and moſt extenſive market was allowed to the commodities he produced, and his ſtaples increaſed in value in proportion to the quantity raiſed, and the demand for them in Europe. All Britiſh manufactures he obtained at an eaſy rate, and drawbacks were allowed on articles of foreign manufacture, that they might be brought the cheaper to the American market. In conſequence of which frugal planters, every three or four years, doubled their capital, and their progreſs towards independence and opulence

The colony's advantages from Britain.

opulence was rapid. Indeed, the coloniſts had many reaſons for gratitude, and none for fear, except what aroſe from their immoderate haſte to be rich, and from purchaſing ſuch numbers of ſlaves, as expoſed them to danger and deſtruction.

The plan of ſettling townſhips, eſpecially as it came accompanied with the royal bounty, had proved beneficial in many reſpects. It encouraged multitudes of poor oppreſſed people in Ireland, Holland and Germany to emigrate, by which means the province received a number of frugal and induſtrious ſettlers. As many of them came from manufacturing towns in Europe, it might have been expected that they would naturally have purſued thoſe occupations to which they had been bred, and in which their chief ſkill conſiſted. But this was by no means the caſe; for, excepting a few of them that took up their reſidence in Charleſtown, they procured lands, applied to paſturage and agriculture, and by raiſing hemp, wheat and maize in the interior parts of the country, and curing hams, bacon, and beef, they ſupplied the market with abundance of proviſion, while at the ſame time they found that they had taken the ſhorteſt way of arriving at eaſy and independent circumſtances.

Indeed while ſuch vaſt territories in Carolina remained unoccupied, it was neither for the intereſt of the province, nor that of the mother-country, to employ any hands in manufactures. So long as labour beſtowed on lands was moſt profitable, no prudent coloniſt would direct his attention or ſtrength to any other employment, eſpecially as the mother-country could ſupply him with all kinds of manu-

factures at a much cheaper rate than he could make them. The ſurplus part of Britiſh commodities and manufactures for which there was no vent in Britain, found in Carolina a good market, and in return brought the Engliſh merchant ſuch articles as were in demand at home, by which means the advantages were mutual and reciprocal. The excluſive privilege of ſupplying this market encouraged labour in England, and augmented the annual income of the nation. From the monopoly of this trade with America, which was always increaſing, Britain derived many ſubſtantial advantages. Theſe colonies conſumed all her ſuperfluities which lay upon hand, and enlarged her commerce, which, without ſuch a market, muſt have been confined to its ancient narrow channel. In the year 1744, two hundred and thirty veſſels were loaded at the port of Charleſtown, ſo that the national value of the province was not only conſiderable in reſpect of the large quantity of goods it conſumed, but alſo in reſpect to the naval ſtrength it promoted. Fifteen hundred ſeamen at leaſt found employment in the trade of this province, and, beſides other advantages, the profits of freight muſt make a conſiderable addition to the account in favour of Britain. Its advantage and importance to Britain.

Nor is there the ſmalleſt reaſon to expect that manufactures will be encouraged in Carolina, while landed property can be obtained on ſuch eaſy terms. The cooper, the carpenter, the brick-layer, the ſhipbuilder, and every other artificer and tradeſman, after having laboured for a few years at their reſpective employments, and purchaſed a few negroes, commonly retreat to the country, and ſettle tracts of un-

cultivated land. While they labour at their trades, they find themſelves dependent on their employers; this is one reaſon for their wiſhing at leaſt to be their own maſters; and though the wages allowed them are high, yet the means of ſubſiſtence in towns are alſo dear, and therefore they long to be in the ſame ſituation with their neighbours, who derive an eaſy ſubſiſtence from a plantation, which they cultivate at pleaſure, and are anſwerable to no maſter for their conduct. Even the merchant becomes weary of attending the ſtore, and riſking his ſtock on the ſtormy ſeas, or in the hands of men where it is often expoſed to equal hazards, and therefore collects it as ſoon as poſſible, and ſettles a plantation. Upon this plantation he ſets himſelf down, and being both landlord and farmer, immediately finds himſelf an independent man. Having his capital in lands and negroes around him, and his affairs collected within a narrow circle, he can manage and improve them as he thinks fit. He ſoon obtains plenty of the neceſſaries of life from his plantation; nor need he want any of its conveniencies and luxuries. The greateſt difficulties he has to ſurmount ariſe from the marſhy ſoil, and unhealthy climate, which often cut men off in the midſt of their days. Indeed in this reſpect Carolina is the reverſe of moſt countries in Europe, where the rural life, when compared with that of the town, is commonly healthy and delightful.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

THE war between England and France ſtill raged in Europe, and being carried on under many diſadvantages on the ſide of the allied army, was almoſt as unſucceſsful as their enemies could have deſired. The battle of Fontenoy was obſtinate and bloody, and many thouſands were left on the field on the ſide of the vanquiſhed. The victorious army had little reaſon for boaſting, having likewiſe bought their victory very dear. Though bad ſucceſs attended the Britiſh arms on the continent at this time, yet that evil being conſidered as remote, the people ſeemed only to feel it as affecting the honour of the nation, which by ſome fortunate change might retrieve the glory of its arms; but a plot of a more intereſting nature was diſcovered, which added greatly to the national perplexity and diſtreſs. A civil war broke out within the bowels of the kingdom, the object of which was nothing leſs than the recovery of the Britiſh crown from the houſe of Brunſwick. Charles Edward Stuart, the young pretender, ſtimulated by the fire of youth, encouraged by the deceitful promiſes of France, and invited by a diſcontented party of the Scotch nation, had landed in North Britain to head the raſh enterpriſe. Multitudes of bold and deluded Highlanders, and ſeveral Lowlanders, who owed their misfortunes to their firm adherence to that family, joined his army. He became formidable both by the numbers that followed him, and the ſucceſs that at firſt attended his arms. But at length, after having ſtruck

All commotions and oppreſſions in Europe favourable to America.

a terror into the nation, he was routed at Culloden field, and his party were either diſperſed, or made priſoners of war.

WHAT to make of the priſoners of war became a matter of public deliberation. To puniſh all, without diſtinction, would have been unjuſtifiable cruelty in any government, eſpecially where ſo many were young, ignorant, and miſled: to pardon all, on the other hand, would diſcover unreaſonable weakneſs, and dangerous lenity. The priſoners had nothing to plead but the clemency of the King, and the tenderneſs of the Britiſh conſtitution. Examples of juſtice were neceſſary to deter men from the like attempts; but it was agreed to temper juſtice with mercy, in order to convince the nation of the gentleneſs of that conſtitution, which made not only a diſtinction between the innocent and guilty, but even among the guilty themſelves, between thoſe who were more, and thoſe who were leſs criminal. The King ordered a general pardon to paſs the Great Seal, in which he extended mercy to the ignorant, and miſled among the rebels, which pardon comprehended nineteen out of twenty, who drew lots for this purpoſe, were exempted from trial, and tranſported to the Britiſh plantations. Among other ſettlements in America, the ſouthern provinces had a ſhare of theſe bold and hardy Caledonians, who afterwards proved excellent and induſtrious ſettlers.

As every family of labourers is an acquiſition to a growing colony, ſuch as Carolina, where lands are plenty, and hands only wanted to improve them; to encourage

encourage emigration, a door was opened there to Proteſtants of every nation. The poor and diſtreſſed ſubjects of the Britiſh dominions, and thoſe of Germany and Holland, were eaſily induced to leave oppreſſion, and tranſport themſelves and families to that province. Lands free of quit-rents, for the firſt ten years, were allotted to men, women, and children. Utenſils for cultivation, and hogs and cows to begin their ſtock, they purchaſed with their bounty-money. The like bounty was allowed to all ſervants after the expiration of the term of their ſervitude. From this period Carolina was found to be an excellent refuge to the poor, the unfortunate, and oppreſſed. The population and proſperity of her colonies engroſſed the attention of the mother-country. His Majeſty's bounty ſerved to alleviate the hardſhips inſeparable from the firſt years of cultivation, and landed property animated the poor emigrants to induſtry and perſeverance. The different townſhips yearly increaſed in numbers. Every one upon his arrival obtained his grant of land, and ſat down on his freehold with no taxes, or very trifling ones, no tythes, no poor rates, with full liberty of hunting and fiſhing, and many other advantages and privileges he never knew in Europe. It is true the unhealthineſs of the climate was a great bar to his progreſs, and proved fatal to many of theſe firſt ſettlers; but to ſuch as ſurmounted this obſtacle, every year brought new profits, and opened more advantageous proſpects. All who eſcaped the dangers of the climate, if they could not be called rich during their own life, by improving their little freeholds, they commonly left their children in eaſy or opulent circumſtances. Even in the firſt age being free,

contented,

contented, and accountable to man for their labour and management, their condition in many reſpects was preferable to that of the pooreſt claſs of labourers in Europe. In all improved countries, where commerce and manufactures have been long eſtabliſhed, and luxury prevails, the pooreſt ranks of citizens are always oppreſſed and miſerable. Indeed this muſt neceſſarily be the caſe, otherwiſe trade and manufactures, which flouriſh principally by the low price of labour and proviſions, muſt decay. In Carolina, though expoſed to more troubles and hardſhips for a few years, ſuch induſtrious people had better opportunities than in Europe for advancing to an eaſy and independent ſtate. Hence it happened that few emigrants ever returned to their native country; on the contrary, the ſucceſs and proſperity of the moſt fortunate, brought many adventurers and relations after them. Their love to their former friends, and their natural partiality for their countrymen, induced the old planters to receive the new ſettlers joyfully, and even to aſſiſt and relieve them. Having each his own property and poſſeſſion, this independence produced mutual reſpect and beneficence, and ſuch general harmony and induſtry reigned among them, that thoſe townſhips, formerly a deſolate wilderneſs, now ſtocked with diligent labourers, promiſed ſoon to become fruitful fields.

It has been obſerved, that in proportion as the lands have been cleared and improved, and ſcope given for a more free circulation of air, the climate has likewiſe become more ſalubrious and pleaſant. This change was more remarkable in the heart of the country than in the maritime parts, where the beſt plantations of rice are, and where water is carefully preſerved

preſerved to overflow the fields; yet even in thoſe places cultivation has been attended with ſalutary effects. Time and experience had now taught the planters, that, during the autumnal months, their living among the low rice plantations ſubjected them to many diſorders, from which the inhabitants of the capital were entirely exempted. This induced the richer part to retreat to town during this unhealthy ſeaſon. Thoſe who were leſs able to bear the expences of this retreat, and had learned to guard againſt the inconveniencies of the climate, ſometimes eſcaped; but laborious ſtrangers ſuffered much during theſe autumnal months. Accuſtomed as they were in Europe to toil through the heat of the day, and expoſe themſelves in all weathers, they followed the ſame practices in Carolina, where the climate would by no means admit of ſuch liberties. Apprehenſive of no ill conſequences from ſuch expoſure, they began their improvement with vigour and reſolution, and perſevered until the hot climate and heavy toil exhauſted their ſpirits, and brought home to them the unwelcome intimations of danger.

Cultivation attended with ſalutary effects.

In the months of July, Auguſt, and September, the heat in the ſhaded air, from noon to three o'clock, is often between ninety and an hundred degrees; and as ſuch extreme heat is of ſhort duration, being commonly productive of thunder-ſhowers, it becomes on that account the more dangerous. I have ſeen the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer ariſe in the ſhade to ninety-ſix in the hotteſt, and fall to ſixteen in the cooleſt ſeaſon of the year; others have obſerved it as high as an hundred, and as low as ten; which range

range between the extreme heat of ſummer and cold in winter is prodigious, and muſt have a great effect upon the conſtitution of all, even of thoſe who are beſt guarded againſt the climate; what then muſt be the ſituation of ſuch as are expoſed to the open air and burning ſky in all ſeaſons? The mean diurnal heat of the different ſeaſons has been, upon the moſt careful obſervation, fixed at ſixty-four in ſpring, ſeventy-nine in ſummer, ſeventy-two in autumn; and fifty-two in winter; and the mean nocturnal heat in thoſe ſeaſons at fifty-ſix degrees in ſpring, ſeventy-five in ſummer, ſixty-eight in autumn, and forty-ſix in winter.

Mean heat in Carolina.

As this climate differs ſo much from that of Britain, Ireland, and Germany, and every where has great influence on the human conſtitution, no wonder that many of theſe ſettlers ſhould ſicken and die by the change, during the firſt ſtate of colonization. In the hot ſeaſon the human body is relaxed by perpetual perſpiration, and becomes feeble and ſickly, eſpecially during the dog-days, when the air is one while ſuffocating and ſultry, and another moiſt and foggy. Exhauſted of fluids, it is perhaps not at all, or very improperly, ſupplied. Hence intermittent, nervous, putrid and bilious fevers, are common in the country, and prove fatal to many of its inhabitants. Young children are very ſubject to the worm-fever, which cuts off multitudes of them. The dry belly-ache, which is a dreadful diſorder, is no ſtranger to the climate. An irruption, commonly called the Prickly Heat, often breaks out during the ſummer, which is attend-

The diſeaſes of the country.

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ed with troubleſome itching and ſtinging pains; but this diſeaſe being common, and not dangerous, is little regarded; and if proper caution be uſed to prevent it from ſtriking ſuddenly inward, is thought to be attended even with ſalutary effects. In the ſpring and winter pleuriſies and peripneumonies are common, often obſtinate, and frequently fatal diſeaſes. So changeable is the weather, that the ſpirits in the thermometer will often riſe or fall twenty, twenty-five, and thirty degrees, in the ſpace of twenty four hours, which muſt make havock of the human conſtitution. In autumn there is ſometimes a difference of twenty degrees between the heat of the day and that of the night, and in winter a greater difference between the heat of the morning and that of noon-day. We leave it to phyſicians more particularly to deſcribe the various diſorders incident to this climate, together with the cauſes of them; but if violent heat and continual perſpiration in ſummer, noxious vapours and ſudden changes in autumn, piercing cold nights, and hot noon-days in winter, affect the human conſtitution, the inhabitants of Carolina, eſpecially in the maritime parts, have all theſe and many more changes and hardſhips during the year to undergo. Not only man, but every animal, is ſtrongly affected by the ſultry heat of ſummer. Horſes and cows retire to the ſhade, and there, though haraſſed with inſects, they ſtand and profuſely ſweat through the violence of the day. Hogs and dogs are alſo much diſtreſſed with it. Poultry and wild fowls droop their wings, hang out their tongues, and, with open throats, pant for breath. The planter who conſults his health is not only cautious in his dreſs and diet, but riſes early for the buſineſs of the field, and tranſacts it before ten o'clock, and then retreats to the houſe or ſhade during the melting heat of the

day, until the coolneſs of the evening again invites him to the field. Such is his feebleneſs of body and languor of ſpirit at noon, that the greateſt pleaſure of life conſiſts in being entirely at reſt. Even during the night he is often reſtleſs and depreſſed, inſomuch that refreſhing ſleep is kept a ſtranger to his eyes. If unfortunately the poor labourer is taken ſick in ſuch weather, perhaps far removed from, or unable to employ, a phyſician, how great muſt be his hazard. In towns this heat is ſtill rendered more intolerable by the glowing reflection from houſes, and the burning ſand in the ſtreets. But how it is poſſible for cooks, blackſmiths, and other tradeſmen, to work at the ſide of a fire, as many in the province do during ſuch a ſeaſon, we muſt leave to the world to judge.

Climate favourable to the culture of indigo.

THIS hot weather, however, has been found favourable to the culture of indigo, which at this time was introduced into Carolina, and has ſince proved one of its chief articles of commerce. About the year 1745 a fortunate diſcovery was made, that this plant grew ſpontaneouſly in the province, and was found almoſt every where among the wild weeds of the foreſt. As the ſoil naturally yielded a weed which furniſhed the world with ſo uſeful and valuable a dye, it loudly called for cultivation and improvement. For this purpoſe ſome indigo ſeed was imported from the French Weſt Indies, where it had been cultivated with great ſucceſs, and yielded the planters immenſe profit. At firſt the ſeed was planted by way of experiment, and it was found to anſwer the moſt ſanguine expectations. In conſequence of which ſeveral planters turned their attention to the culture of indigo, and ſtudied the art of extracting the

the dye from it. Every trial brought them freſh encouragement. In the year 1747 a conſiderable quantity of it was ſent to England, which induced the merchants trading to Carolina to petition parliament for a bounty on Carolina indigo. The parliament, upon examination, found that it was one of the moſt beneficial articles of French commerce, that their Weſt India iſlands ſupplied all the markets of Europe; and that Britain alone conſumed annually ſix hundred thouſand weight of French indigo, which, at five ſhillings a pound, coſt the nation the prodigious ſum of one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling. It was demonſtrated by the merchants, that this vaſt expence might be ſaved, by encouraging the cultivation of indigo in Carolina, and commonly believed that in time the colony might bring it to ſuch perfection, as to rival the French at the markets of Europe. This petition of the merchants was ſoon followed by another from the planters and inhabitants of Carolina, and others to the ſame effect from the clothiers, dyers, and traders of different towns in Britain. It was proved, that the demand for indigo annually increaſed, and it could never be expected that the planters in the Weſt Indies would turn their hands to it, while the culture of ſugar canes proved more profitable. Accordingly, an act of parliament paſſed, about the beginning of the year 1748, for allowing a bounty of ſixpence *per* pound on all indigo raiſed in the Britiſh American plantations, and imported directly into Britain from the place of its growth. In conſequence of which act the planters applied themſelves with double vigour and ſpirit to that article, and ſeemed to vie with each other who ſhould bring the beſt kind

and greateſt quantity of it to the market. Some years indeed elapſed before they learned the nice art of making it as well as the French, whom long practice and experience had taught it to perfection; but every year they acquired greater ſkill and knowledge in preparing it, and received incredible profit as the reward of their labours. While many of them doubled their capital every three or four years by planting indigo, they in proceſs of time brought it to ſuch a degree of perfection, as not only to ſupply the mother-country, but alſo to underſel the French at ſeveral European markets.

HERE it may not be improper to give the reader ſome account of the manner in which the people of Carolina cultivate this plant, and extract the dye from it. As we pretend to little knowledge of this matter ourſelves, we ſhall give the following rules and directions of an ingenious perſon, who practiſed them for ſeveral years with great ſucceſs. "As both "the quantity and quality of indigo greatly depend on "the cultivation of the plant, it is proper to obſerve, "that it ſeems to thrive beſt in a rich, light ſoil, un- "mixed with clay or ſand. The ground to be planted "ſhould be plowed, or turned up with hoes, ſome "time in December, that the froſt may render it rich "and mellow. It muſt alſo be well harrowed, and "cleanſed from all graſs, roots, and ſtumps of trees, "to facilitate the hoeing after the weed appears a- "bove ground. The next thing to be conſidered is "the choice of the ſeed, in which the planters ſhould "be very nice; there is great variety of it, and from "every ſort good indigo may be made; but none

The manner of cultivating and making indigo.

"anſwers

" anſwers ſo well in this colony as the true Guati-
" mala, which if good is a ſmall oblong black ſeed,
" very bright and full, and when rubbed in the hand
" will appear as if finely poliſhed.

" In Carolina we generally begin to plant about
" the beginning of April, in the following manner;
" The ground being well prepared, furrows are made
" with a drill-plow, or hoe, two inches deep, and
" eighteen inches diſtant from each other, to receive
" the ſeed, which is ſown regularly, and not very
" thick, after which it is lightly covered with earth.
" A buſhel of ſeed will ſow four Engliſh acres. If the
" weather proves warm and ſerene, the plant will ap-
" pear above ground in ten or four-teen days. After
" the plant appears, the ground, though not graſſy,
" ſhould be hoed to looſen the earth about it, which
" otherwiſe would much hinder its growth. In good
" ſeaſons it grows very faſt, and muſt all the while
" be kept perfectly clean of weeds. Whenever the
" plant is in full bloom it muſt be cut down, with-
" out paying any regard to its height, as its leaves
" are then thick and full of juice, and this commonly
" happens in about four months after planting. But,
" previous to the ſeaſon for cutting, a complete ſet
" of vats of the following dimenſions, for every
" twenty acres of weed, muſt be provided, and kept
" in good order. The ſteeper or vat in which the
" weed is firſt put to ferment, muſt be ſixteen feet
" ſquare in the clear, and two and a half feet deep;
" the ſecond vat or battery twelve feet long, ten feet
" wide, and four and a half feet deep from the top
" of the plate. Theſe vats ſhould be made of the
" beſt

" beſt cypreſs or yellow-pine plank, two and a half " inches thick, well faſtened to the joints and ſtuds " with ſeven-inch ſpikes, and then caulked, to pre- " vent their leaking. Vats thus made will laſt in Ca- " rolina, notwithſtanding the exceſſive heat, at leaſt " ſeven years. When every thing is ready, the weed " muſt be cut and laid regularly in the ſteeper with " the ſtalk upward, which will haſten the fermenta- " tion; then long rails muſt be laid the length of the " vat, at eighteen inches diſtance from one another, " and wedged down to the weed, to prevent its buoy- " ing up when the water is pumped into the ſteeper. " For this purpoſe the ſofteſt water anſwers beſt, " and the quantity of it neceſſary muſt be juſt ſuf- " ficient to cover all the weed. In this ſituation " it is left to ferment, which will begin ſooner or " later in proportion to the heat of the weather, and " the ripeneſs of the plant, but for the moſt part " takes twelve or fifteen hours. After the water is " loaded with the ſalts and ſubſtance of the weed, it " muſt be let out of the ſteeper into the battery, " there to be beat; in order to perform which o- " peration, many different machines have been in- " vented: but for this purpoſe any inſtrument that will " agitate the water with great violence may be uſed. " When the water has been violently agitated for " fifteen or twenty minutes in the battery, by taking " a little of the liquor up in a plate it will appear full " of ſmall grain or curdled; then you are to let in a " quantity of lime-water kept in a vat for the pur- " poſe, to augment and precipitate the fæculæ, ſtill " continuing to ſtir and beat vehemently the in- " digo water, till it becomes of a ſtrong purple co- " lour, and the grain hardly perceptible. Then it

" muſt

" muſt be left to ſettle, which it will do in eight or " ten hours. After which the water muſt be gently " drawn out of the battery through plug-holes con- " trived for that purpoſe, ſo that the fæculæ may " remain at the bottom of the vat. It muſt then be " taken up, and carefully ſtrained through a horſe- " hair ſieve, to render the indigo perfectly clean, " and put into bags made of Oſnaburghs, eighteen " inches long, and twelve wide, and ſuſpended for " ſix hours, to drain the water out of it. After " which the mouths of theſe bags being well faſten- " ed, it muſt be put into a preſs to be entirely freed " from any remains of water, which would other- " wiſe greatly hurt the quality of the indigo. The " preſs commonly uſed for this purpoſe is a box of " five feet in length, two and a half wide, and two " deep, with holes at one end to let out the water. " In this box the bags muſt be laid, one upon ano- " ther, until it is full, upon which a plank muſt be " laid, fitted to go within the box, and upon all a ſuf- " ficient number of weights to ſqueeze out the water " entirely by a conſtant and gradual preſſure, ſo that " the indigo may become a fine ſtiff paſte; which is " then taken out and cut into ſmall pieces, each a- " bout two inches ſquare, and laid out to dry. A " houſe made of logs muſt be prepared on purpoſe " for drying it, and ſo conſtructed that it may re- " ceive all the advantages of an open and free air, " without being expoſed to the ſun, which is very " pernicious to the dye. For here indigo placed " in the ſun, in a few hours will be burnt up to a " perfect cinder. While the indigo remains in the " drying houſe, it muſt be carefully turned three or " four times in a day, to prevent its rotting. Flies

" ſhould

" ſhould likewiſe be carefully kept from it, which " at this ſeaſon of the year are hatched in millions, " and infeſt an indigo plantation like a plague. After " all, great care muſt alſo be taken, that the indigo " be ſufficiently dry before it is packed, leſt after " it is headed up in barrels it ſhould ſweat, which will " certainly ſpoil and rot it."

In this manner indigo is cultivated and prepared in Carolina, and the richeſt land in the heart of the country is found to anſwer beſt for it. The maritime iſlands, however, which are commonly ſandy, are not unfavourable for this production, eſpecially thoſe that contain ſpots of land covered with oak, and hickory trees. It is one of thoſe rank weeds which in a few years will exhauſt the ſtrength and fertility of the beſt lands in the world. It is commonly cut in the Weſt Indies ſix and ſeven times in the year, but in Carolina no more than two or three times before the froſt begins. Our planters have been blamed by the Engliſh merchants for paying too much attention to the quantity, and too little to the quality of their indigo, hence the Weſt-India indigo brings an higher price at the market. He that prefers the quality to the quantity, is very careful to cut the plant at the proper ſeaſon, that is, when the weed begins to bloom; for the more luxuriant and tender the plant, the more beautiful the indigo. While it is curing, indigo has an offenſive and diſagreeable ſmell, and as the dregs of the weed are full of ſalts, and make excellent manure, therefore they ſhould be immediately buried under ground when brought out of the ſteeper. It is commonly obſerved, that all creatures about an indigo plantation are ſtarved, whereas, about

a rice one, which abounds with proviſions for man and beaſt, they thrive and flouriſh. The ſeaſon for making indigo in Carolina ends with the firſt froſty weather, which puts a ſtop to fermentation, and then double labour is not only requiſite for beating it, but when prepared it is commonly good for nothing.

THE planters bring their indigo to market about the end of the year, and frequently earlier. The merchant judges of its quality by breaking it, and obſerving the cloſeneſs of its grain, and its brilliant copper, or violet blue colour. The weight in ſome meaſure proves its quality, for heavy indigo of every colour is always bad. Good indigo almoſt entirely conſumes away in the fire, the bad leaves a quantity of aſhes. In water alſo pure and fine indigo entirely melts and diſſolves, but the heterogeneous and ſolid parts of the bad ſink to the bottom like ſand. From this period it became a ſtaple to Carolina, and proved equally profitable as the mines of Mexico or Peru. To the mother country it was no leſs beneficial, in excluding the French indigo entirely from her market, and promoting her manufactures, and trade. I ſhall afterwards take notice of the rapid progreſs made in the cultivation of this article, particularly with reſpect to the quantity produced and yearly ſhipped to Britain, to ſupply the markets in Europe.

The common methods of judging of its quality.

THE great bounty and indulgence of Britain towards her American colonies increaſed with their progreſs in cultivation, and favour after favour was extended to them. Filled with the proſpect of opening an ex-

cellent market for her manufactures, and enlarging her commerce and navigation, in which her ſtrength in a great meaſure conſiſted, theſe colonies were become the chief objects of her care, and new ones were planted for the protection of the old. At this time the peace of Aix la Chapelle left a number of brave ſailors and ſoldiers without employment. Good policy required that they ſhould be rendered uſeful to the nation, and at the ſame time furniſhed with employment for their own ſubſiſtence. Acadia, which was ceded to Britain by the treaty of peace, changed its name to Nova Scotia, and was capable of producing every ſpecies of naval ſtores. The ſea there abounded with excellent fiſh, which might furniſh employment for a number of ſailors, and be made an uſeful and advantageous branch of trade. But the excellent natural harbours which the country afforded, of all other things proved the greateſt inducement for eſtabliſhing a colony in it, the poſſeſſion of which would not only promote trade in the time of peace, but alſo prove a ſafe ſtation for Britiſh fleets in time of war. Beſides, for the ſake of commercial advantage, it was judged proper to confine the ſettlements in America as much as poſſible to the ſea-coaſt. The parliament therefore determined to ſend out a colony to Nova Scotia, and, to forward the ſettlement, voted forty thouſand pounds. The following advantageous terms were held forth to the people by government, and a number of adventurers agreed to accept them. Fifty acres of land were to be allowed to every ſoldier and ſailor, two hundred to every enſign, three hundred to every lieutenant, four hundred and ſixty to every captain, and ſix hundred

Nova Scotia ſettled.

dred to all officers of higher rank; together with thirty for every ſervant they ſhould carry along with them. No quit-rents were to be demanded for the firſt ten years. They were alſo to be furniſhed with inſtruments for fiſhing and agriculture, to have their paſſage free, and proviſions found them for the firſt year after their arrival. Three thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty adventurers embarked for America on theſe favourable terms, and ſettled at Halifax, which place was fixed on as the ſeat of government, and fortified. The Acadians, the former inhabitants of the country, were allowed peaceably to remain in it, and having ſworn never to bear arms againſt their countrymen, ſubmitted to the Engliſh government, and paſſed under the denomination of French neutrals. The greateſt difficulty which the new ſettlers of Nova Scotia had to ſurmount at this time aroſe from the Micmac Indians, who held that territory from nature, and for ſome time obſtinately defended their right to their ancient poſſeſſions; and it was not without conſiderable loſs that the Britiſh ſubjects at length, by force of arms, drove them away from thoſe territories.

The great care of Britain for theſe colonies.

Nor did this new ſettlement engroſs the whole attention and liberality of the parent ſtate; the province of Georgia alſo every year ſhared plentifully from the ſame hands. Indeed the bounty of the mother country was extenſive as her dominions, and, like the ſun, cheriſhed and invigorated every object on which it ſhone. All the colonies might have been ſenſible of her conſtant attention to their ſafety and proſperity, and had great reaſon to acknowledge themſelves under the ſtrongeſt obligations to her

goodneſs. If ſhe expected a future recompenſe by the channel of commerce, which is for the moſt part mutually advantageous, it was no more than ſhe had juſtly merited. The coloniſts, we allow, carried with them the rights and liberties of the ſubjects of Britain, and they owed in return the duties of obedience to her laws and ſubjection to her government. The privileges and duties of ſubjects in all ſtates have been reciprocal, and as the mother country had incurred great expence for the eſtabliſhment and ſupport of theſe foreign ſettlements; as ſhe had multiplied her burdens for their defence and improvement; ſurely ſuch protection and kindneſs laid a foundation for the firmeſt union, and the moſt dutiful returns of allegiance and gratitude.

Low ſtate of Georgia.

HOWEVER, the province of Georgia, notwithſtanding all that Britain had done for its population and improvement, ſtill remained in a poor and languiſhing condition. Its ſettlers conſiſted of two ſorts of people; firſt, of indigent ſubjects and foreigners, whom the Truſtees tranſported and maintained; ſecondly, of men of ſome ſubſtance, whom flattering deſcriptions of the province had induced voluntarily to emigrate to it. After the peace Oglethorpe's regiment being diſbanded, a number of ſoldiers accepted the encouragement offered them by government, and took up their reſidence in Georgia. All thoſe adventurers who had brought ſome ſubſtance along with them, having by this time exhauſted their ſmall ſtock in fruitleſs experiments, were reduced to indigence, ſo that emigrants from Britain, foreigners, and ſoldiers, were all on a level in point of poverty.

verty. From the impolitic reſtrictions of the Truſtees, theſe ſettlers had no proſpects during life but thoſe of hardſhip and poverty, and of conſequence, at their deceaſe, of bequeathing a number of orphans to the care of Providence. Nor was the trade of the province in a better ſituation than its agriculture. The want of credit was an unſurmountable obſtacle to its progreſs in every reſpect. Formerly the inhabitants in and about Savanna had tranſmitted to the Truſtees a repreſentation of their grievous circumſtances, and obtained from them ſome partial relief. But now, chagrined with diſappointments, and diſpirited by the ſeverities of the climate, they could view the deſign of the Truſtees in no other light than that of having decoyed them into miſery. Even though they had been favoured with credit, and had proved ſucceſsful, which was far from being their caſe; as the tenure of their freehold was reſtricted to heirs male, their eldeſt ſon could only reap the benefit of their toil, and the reſt muſt depend on his bounty, or be left wholly to the charge of that Being who feeds the fowls of the air. They conſidered their younger children and daughters as equally entitled to paternal regard, and could not brook their holding lands under ſuch a tenure, as excluded them from the rights and privileges of other coloniſts. They ſaw numbers daily leaving the province through mere neceſſity, and frankly told the Truſtees, that nothing could prevent it from being totally deſerted, but the ſame encouragements with their more fortunate neighbours in Carolina.

Complaint of the people.

THAT the Truſtees might have a juſt view of their condition, the Georgians ſtated before them their grievances, and renewed their application for redreſs. They judged that the Britiſh conſtitution, zealous for the rights and liberties of mankind, could not permit ſubjects who had voluntarily riſked their lives, and ſpent their ſubſtance on the public faith, to effect a ſettlement in the moſt dangerous frontiers of the Britiſh empire, to be deprived of the common privileges of all coloniſts. They complained that the land-holders in Georgia were prohibited from ſelling or leaſing their poſſeſſions; that a tract containing fifty acres of the beſt lands was too ſmall an allowance for the maintenance of a family, and much more ſo when they were refuſed the freedom to chuſe it; that a much higher quit-rent was exacted from them than was paid for the beſt lands in America; that the importation of negroes was prohibited, and white people were utterly unequal to the labours requiſite; that the public money granted yearly by parliament, for the relief of ſettlers and the improvement of the province, was miſapplied, and therefore the wiſe purpoſes for which it was granted were by no means anſwered. That theſe inconveniencies and hardſhips kept them in a ſtate of poverty and miſery, and that the chief cauſe of all their calamities was the ſtrict adherence of the Truſtees to their chimerical and impracticable ſcheme of ſettlement, by which the people were refuſed the obvious means of ſubſiſtence, and cut off from all proſpects of ſucceſs.

We have already obſerved, that the laws and regulations even of the wiſeſt men, founded on principles of ſpeculation, have often proved to be foreign and impracticable. The Truſtees had an example of this in the fundamental conſtitutions of John Locke. Inſtead of preſcribing narrower limits to the induſtry and ambition of the Georgians, they ought to have learned wiſdom from the caſe of the Proprietors of Carolina, and enlarged their plan with reſpect to both liberty and property. By ſuch indulgence alone they could encourage emigrations, and animate the inhabitants to diligence and perſeverance. The lands in Georgia, eſpecially ſuch as were firſt occupied, were ſandy and barren; the hardſhips of clearing and cultivating them were great, the climate was unfavourable for labourers, and dangerous to European conſtitutions. The greater the difficulties were with which the ſettlers had to ſtruggle, the more encouragement was requiſite to ſurmount them. The plan of ſettlement ought to have ariſen from the nature of the climate, country, and ſoil, and the circumſtances of the ſettlers, and been the reſult of experience and not of ſpeculation.

Hitherto Georgia had not only made ſmall improvement in agriculture and trade, but her government was feeble and contemptible. At this time, by the avarice and ambition of a ſingle family, the whole colony was brought to the very brink of deſtruction. As the concerns of theſe ſettlements are cloſely connected and interwoven with

with the affairs of Indian nations, it is impoſſible to attain proper views of the circumſtances and ſituation of the people, without frequently taking notice of the relation in which they ſtood to their ſavage neighbours. A conſiderable branch of provincial commerce, as well as the ſafety of the coloniſts, depended on their friendſhip with Indians; and, to avoid all danger from their ſavage temper, no ſmall ſhare of prudence and courage was often requiſite. This will appear more obvious from the following occurrence, which, becauſe it is ſomewhat remarkable, we ſhall the more circumſtantially relate.

I HAVE already obſerved, that during the time General Oglethorpe had the direction of public affairs in Georgia, he had, from maxims of policy, treated an Indian woman, called Mary, with particular kindneſs and generoſity. Finding that ſhe had great influence among the Creeks, and underſtood their language, he made uſe of her as an interpreter, in order the more eaſily to form treaties of alliance with them, allowing her for her ſervices an hundred pounds ſterling a-year. This woman Thomas Boſomworth, who was chaplain to Oglethorpe's regiment, had married, and among the reſt had accepted a track of land from the crown, and ſettled in the province. Finding that his wife laid claim to ſome iſlands on the ſea-coaſt, which, by treaty, had been allotted the Indians as part of their hunting lands; to ſtock them he had purcha- cattle from the planters of Carolina, from whom he

Troubles excited by Thomas Boſomworth.

he obtained credit to a conſiderable amount. However, this plan not proving ſo ſucceſsful as the proud and ambitious clergyman expected, he took to audacious methods of ſupporting his credit, and acquiring a fortune. His wife pretended to be deſcended in a maternal line from an Indian king, who held from nature the territories of the Creeks, and Boſomworth now perſuaded her to aſſert her right to them, as ſuperior not only to that of the Truſtees, but alſo to that of the King. Accordingly Mary immediately aſſumed the title of an independent empreſs, diſavowing all ſubjection or allegiance to the King of Great Britain, otherwiſe than by way of treaty and alliance, ſuch as one independent ſovereign might make with another. A meeting of all the Creeks was ſummoned, to whom Mary made a ſpeech, ſetting forth the juſtice of her claim, and the great injury done to her and them by taking poſſeſſion of their ancient territories, and ſtirring them up to defend their property by force of arms The Indians immediately took fire, and to a man declared they would ſtand by her to the laſt drop of their blood in defence of their lands. In conſequence of which Mary, with a large body of ſavages at her back, ſet out for Savanna, to demand a formal ſurrender of them from the preſident of the province. A meſſenger was deſpatched before hand, to acquaint him that Mary had aſſumed her right of ſovereignty over the whole territories of the upper and lower Creeks, and to demand that all lands belonging to them be inſtantly relinquiſhed; for as ſhe was the hereditary and rightful queen of both nations,

and could command every man of them to follow her, in caſe of refuſal, ſhe had determined to extirpate the ſettlement.

The preſident and council, alarmed at her high pretenſions and bold threats, and ſenſible of her great power and influence with the ſavages, were not a little embarraſſed what ſteps to take for the public ſafety. They determined to uſe ſoft and healing meaſures until an opportunity might offer of privately laying hold of her, and ſhipping her off to England. But, in the mean time, orders were ſent to all the captains of the militia, to hold themſelves in readineſs to march to Savanna at an hour's warning. The town was put in the beſt poſture of defence, but the whole militia in it amounted to no more than one hundred and ſeventy men, able to bear arms. A meſſenger was ſent to Mary at the head of the Creeks, while ſeveral miles diſtant from town, to know whether ſhe was ſerious in ſuch wild pretenſions, and to try to perſuade her to diſmiſs her followers, and drop her audacious deſign. But finding her inflexible and reſolute, the preſident reſolved to put on a bold countenance, and receive the ſavages with firmneſs and reſolution. The militia was ordered under arms, to overawe them as much as poſſible, and as the Indians entered the town, Captain Jones, at the head of his company of horſe, ſtopped them, and demanded whether they came with hoſtile or friendly intentions? But receiving no ſatisfactory anſwer, he told them they muſt there ground their arms, for he had orders not to ſuffer a man of them armed to ſet his foot

foot within the town. The ſavages with great reluctance ſubmitted, and accordingly Thomas Boſomworth, in his canonical robes, with his queen by his ſide, followed by the various chiefs according to their rank, marched into town, making a formidable appearance. All the inhabitants were ſtruck with terror at the ſight of the fierce and mighty hoſt. When they advanced to the parade, they found the militia drawn up under arms to receive them, who ſaluted them with fifteen cannon, and conducted them to the preſident's houſe. There Thomas and Adam Boſomworth being ordered to withdraw, the Indian chiefs, in a friendly manner, were called upon to declare their intention of viſiting the town in ſo large a body, without being ſent for by any perſon in lawful authority. The warriors, as they had been previouſly inſtructed, anſwered, that Mary was to ſpeak for them, and that they would abide by her words. They had heard, they ſaid, that ſhe was to be ſent like a captive over the great waters, and they were come to know on what account they were to loſe their queen. They aſſured the preſident they intended no harm, and begged their arms might be reſtored; and, after conſulting with Boſomworth and his wife, they would return and ſettle all public affairs. To pleaſe them their muſkets were accordingly given back, but ſtrict orders were iſſued to allow them no ammunition, until the council ſhould ſee more clearly into their dark deſigns.

On the day following, the Indians having had ſome private conferences with their queen, began to be very ſurly, and to run in a mad and tumultuous

manner up and down the ſtreets, ſeemingly bent on ſome miſchief. All the men being obliged to mount guard, the women were terrified to remain by themſelves in their houſes, expecting every moment to be murdered or ſcalped. During this confuſion, a falſe rumour was ſpread, that they had cut off the preſident's head with a tomahawk, which ſo exaſperated the inhabitants, that it was with difficulty the officers could prevent them from firing on the ſavages. To ſave a town from deſtruction, never was greater prudence requiſite. Orders were given to the militia to lay hold of Boſomworth, and carry him out of the way into cloſe confinement. Upon which Mary became outrageous and frantic, and inſolently threatened vengeance againſt the magiſtrates and whole colony. She ordered every man of them to depart from her territories, and at their peril to refuſe. She curſed General Oglethorpe and his fraudulent treaties, and, furiouſly ſtamping with her feet upon the ground, ſwore by her Maker that the whole earth on which ſhe trode was her own. To prevent bribery, which ſhe knew to have great weight with her warriors, ſhe kept the leading men conſtantly in her eye, and would not ſuffer them to ſpeak a word reſpecting public affairs but in her preſence.

The preſident finding that no peaceable agreement could be made with the Indians while under the baleful eye and influence of their pretended queen, privately laid hold of her, and put her under confinement with her huſband. This ſtep was neceſſary, before any terms of negotiation could be

be propoſed. Having ſecured the chief promoters of the conſpiracy, he then employed men acquainted with the Indian tongue to entertain the warriors in the moſt friendly and hoſpitable manner, and explain to them the wicked deſigns of Boſomworth and his wife. Accordingly a feaſt was prepared for all the chief leaders; at which they were informed, that Mr. Boſomworth had involved himſelf in debt, and wanted not only their lands, but alſo a large ſhare of the royal bounty, to ſatisfy his creditors in Carolina: that the King's preſents were only intended for Indians, on account of their uſeful ſervices and firm attachment to him during the former wars: that the lands adjoining the town were reſerved for them to encamp upon, when they ſhould come to viſit their beloved friends at Savanna, and the three maritime iſlands to hunt upon, when they ſhould come to bathe in the ſalt waters: that neither Mary nor her huſband had any right to thoſe lands, which were the common property of the Creek nations: that the great King had ordered the preſident to defend their right to them, and expected that all his ſubjects, both white and red, would live together like brethren; in ſhort, that he would ſuffer no man or woman to moleſt or injure them, and had ordered theſe words to be left on record, that their children might know them when they were dead and gone.

Such policy produced the deſired effect, and many of the chieftains being convinced that Boſomworth had deceived them, declared they would truſt him no more. Even Malatchee, the leader of

of the Lower Creeks, and a relation to their pretended empreſs, ſeemed ſatisfied, and was not a little pleaſed to hear, that the great King had ſent them ſome valuable preſents. Being aſked why he acknowledged Mary as the Empreſs of the great nation of Creeks, and reſigned his power and poſſeſſions to a deſpicable old woman, while all Georgia owned him as chief of the nation, and the preſident and council were now to give him many rich clothes and medals for his ſervices? He replied, that the whole nation acknowledged her as their Queen, and none could diſtribute the royal preſents but one of her family. The preſident by this anſwer perceiving more clearly the deſign of the family of Boſomworth, to leſſen their influence, and ſhew the Indians that he had power to divide the royal bounty among the chiefs, determined to do it immediately, and diſmiſs them, on account of the growing expences to the colony, and the hardſhips the inhabitants underwent, in keeping guard night and day for the defence of the town.

In the mean time Malatchee, whom the Indians compared to the wind, becauſe of his fickle and variable temper, having, at his own requeſt, obtained acceſs to Boſomworth and his wife, was again ſeduced and drawn over to ſupport their chimerical claim. While the Indians were gathered together to receive their reſpective ſhares of the royal bounty; he ſtood up in the midſt of them, and with a frowning countenance, and in violent agitation of ſpirit, delivered a ſpeech fraught with the moſt dangerous inſinuations. He proteſted, that

that Mary poſſeſſed that country before General Oglethorpe; and that all the lands belonged to her as Queen, and head of the Creeks; that it was by her permiſſion Engliſhmen were at firſt allowed to ſet their foot on them; that they ſtill held them of her as the original proprietor; that her words were the voice of the whole nation, conſiſting of above three thouſand warriors, and at her command every one of them would take up the hatchet in defence of her right; and then pulling out a paper out of his pocket, he delivered it to the preſident in confirmation of what he had ſaid. This was evidently the production of Boſomworth, and ſerved to diſcover in the plaineſt manner, his ambitious views and wicked intrigues. The preamble was filled with the names of Indians, called kings, of all the towns of the Upper and Lower Creeks, none of whom, however, were preſent, excepting two. The ſubſtance of it correſponded with Malatchee's ſpeech; ſtyling Mary the rightful princeſs and chief of their nation, deſcended in a maternal line from the emperor, and inveſted with full power and authority from them to ſettle and finally determine all public affairs and cauſes, relating to lands and other things, with King George and his beloved men on both ſides of the ſea, and whatever ſhould be ſaid or done by her, they would abide by, as if ſaid or done by themſelves.

After reading this paper in council, the whole board were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment; and Malatchee, perceiving their uneaſineſs, begged to have it again, declaring he did not know it to be a bad talk, and

promiſing he would return it immediately to the perſon from whom he had received it. To remove all impreſſion made on the minds of the Indians by Malatchee's ſpeech, and convince them of the deceitful and dangerous tendency of this confederacy into which Boſomworth and his wife had betrayed them, had now become a matter of the higheſt conſequence: happy was it for the province this was a thing neither difficult nor impracticable; for as ignorant ſavages are eaſily miſled on the one hand, ſo, on the other, it was equally eaſy to convince them of their error. Accordingly, having gathered the Indians together for this purpoſe, the preſident addreſſed them to the following effect. "Friends and brothers, when Mr. Oglethorpe and "his people firſt arrived in Georgia, they found Mary, "then the wife of John Muſgrove, living in a ſmall "hut at Yamacraw, having a licence from the Go-"vernor of South Carolina to trade with Indians. "She then appeared to be in a poor ragged con-"dition, and was neglected and deſpiſed by the "Creeks. But Mr. Oglethorpe finding that ſhe "could ſpeak both the Engliſh and Creek languages, "employed her as an interpreter, richly clothed "her, and made her the woman of the conſe-"quence ſhe now appears. The people of Georgia "always reſpected her until ſhe married Thomas "Boſomworth, but from that time ſhe has proved a "liar and a deceiver. In fact, ſhe was no relation of "Malatchee, but the daughter of an Indian woman "of no note, by a white man. General Oglethorpe "did not treat with her for the lands of Georgia, "ſhe having none of her own, but with the old and "wiſe leaders of the Creek nation, who voluntarily

"ſurren-

" ſurrendered their territories to the King. The Indi-
" ans at that time having much waſte land, that was
" uſeleſs to themſelves, parted with a ſhare of it to
" their friends, and were glad that white people had
" ſettled among them to ſupply their wants. He told
" them that the preſent bad humour of the Creeks
" had been artfully infuſed into them by Mary, at the
" inſtigation of her huſband, who owed four hun-
" dred pounds ſterling in Carolina for cattle; that
" he demanded a third part of the royal bounty,
" in order to rob the naked Indians of their right;
" that he had quarrelled with the preſident and coun-
" cil of Georgia for refuſing to anſwer his exorbitant
" demands, and therefore had filled the heads of In-
" dians with wild fancies and groundleſs jealouſies, in
" order to breed miſchief, and induce them to break
" their alliances with their beſt friends, who alone
" were able to ſupply their wants, and defend them
" againſt all their enemies." Here the Indians de-
ſired him to ſtop, and put an end to the conteſt, de-
claring that their eyes were now opened, and they
ſaw through his inſidious deſign. But though he
intended to break the chain of friendſhip, they were
determined to hold it faſt, and therefore begged
that all might immediatly ſmoke the pipe of peace.
Accordingly pipes and rum were brought, and
the whole congreſs, joining hand in hand, drank
and ſmoked together in friendſhip, every one wiſh-
ing that their hearts might be united in like man-
ner as their hands. Then all the royal preſents,
except ammunition, with which it was judged im-
prudent to truſt them until they were at ſome di-
ſtance from town, were brought and diſtributed a-

mong them. The moſt diſaffected were purchaſed with the largeſt preſents. Even Malatchee himſelf ſeemed fully contented with his ſhare, and the ſavages in general perceiving the poverty and inſignificancy of the family of Boſomworth, and their total inability to ſupply their wants, determined to break off all connection with them for ever.

WHILE the preſident and council flattered themſelves that all differences were amicably compromiſed, and were rejoicing in the re-eſtabliſhment of their former friendly intercourſe with the Creeks, Mary, drunk with liquor, and diſappointed in her views, came ruſhing in among them like a fury, and told the preſident that theſe were her people, that he had no buſineſs with them, and he ſhould ſoon be convinced of it to his coſt. The preſident calmly adviſed her to keep to her lodgings, and forbear to poiſon the minds of Indians, otherwiſe he would order her again into cloſe confinement. Upon which turning about to Malatchee in great rage, ſhe told him what the preſident had ſaid, who inſtantly ſtarted from his ſeat, laid hold of his arms, and then calling upon the reſt to follow his example, dared any man to touch his queen. The whole houſe was filled in a moment with tumult and uproar. Every Indian having his tomahawk in his hand, the preſident and council expected nothing but inſtant death. During this confuſion Captain Jones, who commanded the guard, very ſeaſonably interpoſed, and ordered the Indians immediately to deliver up their arms. Such courage was not only neceſſary to overawe them, but at the ſame time great prudence

prudence was alſo requiſite, to avoid coming to extremities with them. With reluctance the Indians ſubmitted, and Mary was conveyed to a private room, where a guard was ſet over her, and all further intercourſe with ſavages denied her during their ſtay in Savanna. Then her huſband was ſent for, in order to reaſon with him and convince him of the folly of his chimerical pretenſions, and of the dangerous conſequences that might reſult from perſiſting in them. But no ſooner did he appear before the preſident and council, than he began to abuſe them to their face. In ſpite of every argument uſed to perſuade him to ſubmiſſion, he remained obſtinate and contumacious, and proteſted he would ſtand forth in vindication of his wife's right to the laſt extremity, and that the province of Georgia ſhould ſoon feel the weight of her vengeance. Finding that fair means were fruitleſs and ineffectual, the council then determined to remove him alſo out of the way of the ſavages, and to humble him by force. After having ſecured the two leaders, it only then remained to perſuade the Indians peaceably to leave the town, and return to their ſettlements. Captain Ellick, a young warrior, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in diſcovering to his tribe the baſe intrigues of Boſomworth, being afraid to accompany Malatchee and his followers, thought fit to ſet out among the firſt: the reſt followed him in different parties, and the inhabitants, wearied out with conſtant watching, and haraſſed with frequent alarms, were at length happily relieved.

With difficulty ſettled.

By this time Adam Boſomworth, another brother of the family, who was agent for Indian affairs in Carolina, had arrived from that province, and being made acquainted with what had paſſed in Georgia, was filled with ſhame and indignation. He found his ambitious brother, not contented with the common allowance of land granted by the crown, aſpiring after ſovereignty, and attempting to obtain by force one of the largeſt landed eſtates in the world. His plot was artfully contrived, and had it been executed with equal courage, fatal muſt the conſequence have been. Had he taken poſſeſſion of the provincial magazine on his arrival at Savanna, and ſupplied the Creeks with ammunition, the militia muſt ſoon have been overpowered, and every family muſt of courſe have fallen a ſacrifice to the indiſcriminate vengeance of ſavages. Happily, by the interpoſition of his brother, all differences were peaceably compromiſed. Thomas Boſomworth at length having returned to ſober reflection, began to repent of his folly, and to aſk pardon of the magiſtrates and people. He wrote to the preſident, acquainting him that he was now deeply ſenſible of his duty as a ſubject, and of the reſpect he owed to civil authority, and could no longer juſtify the conduct of his wife; but hoped that her preſent remorſe, and paſt ſervices to the province, would entirely blot out the remembrance of her unguarded expreſſions and raſh deſign. He appealed to the letters of General Oglethorpe for her former irreproachable conduct, and ſteady friendſhip to the ſettlement, and hoped her good behaviour for the future would atone for her paſt offences, and reinſtate her

her in the public favour. For his own part, he acknowledged her title to be groundleſs, and for ever relinquiſhed all claim to the lands of the province. The coloniſts generouſly forgave and forgot all that had paſt; and public tranquillity being re-eſtabliſhed, new ſettlers applied for lands as uſual, without meeting any more obſtacles from the idle claims of Indian queens and chieftains.

The charter ſurrendered to the King.

The Truſtees of Georgia finding that the province languiſhed under their care, and weary of the complaints of the people, in the year 1752 ſurrendered their charter to the King, and it was made a royal government. In conſequence of which his Majeſty appointed John Reynolds, an officer of the navy, Governor of the province, and a legiſlature ſimilar to that of the other royal governments in America was eſtabliſhed in it. Great had been the expence which the mother country had already incurred, beſides private benefactions, for ſupporting this colony; and ſmall had been the returns yet made by it. The veſtiges of cultivation were ſcarcely perceptible in the foreſt, and in England all commerce with it was neglected and deſpiſed. At this time the whole annual exports of Georgia did not amount to ten thouſand pounds ſterling. Though the people were now favoured with the ſame liberties and privileges enjoyed by their neighbours under the royal care, yet ſeveral years more elapſed before the value of the lands in Georgia was known, and that ſpirit of induſtry broke out in it which afterwards diffuſed its happy influence over the country.

In

George Whitfield's ſettlement.

In the annals of Georgia the famous George Whitfield may not be unworthy of ſome notice, eſpecially as the world through which he wandered has heard ſo much of his Orphan-houſe built in that province. Actuated by religious motives, this wanderer ſeveral times paſſed the Atlantic to convert the Americans, whom he addreſſed in ſuch a manner as if they had been all equal ſtrangers to the privileges and benefits of religion with the original inhabitants of the foreſt. However, his zeal never led him beyond the maritime parts of America, through which he travelled, ſpreading what he called the true evangelical faith among the moſt populous towns and villages. One would have imagined that the heathens, or at leaſt thoſe who were moſt deſtitute of the means of inſtruction, would have been the primary and moſt proper objects of his zeal and compaſſion; but this was far from being the caſe. However, wherever he went in America, as in Britain, he had multitudes of followers. When he firſt viſited Charleſtown, Alexander Garden, a man of ſome ſenſe and erudition, who was the epiſcopal clergyman of that place, to put the people upon their guard, took occaſion to point out to them the pernicious tendency of Whitfield's wild doctrines and irregular manner of life. He repreſented him as a religious impoſtor or quack, who had an excellent knack of ſetting off to advantage his poiſonous tenets. On the other hand, Whitfield, who had been accuſtomed to bear reproach and face oppoſition, recriminated with double acrimony and greater ſucceſs. While Alexander Garden, to keep his flock from ſtraying after this ſtrange paſtor, expatiated on the words

of

of Scripture, "Thoſe that have turned the world "upſide down are come hither alſo." Whitfield, with all the force of comic humour and wit for which he was ſo much diſtinguiſhed, by way of reply, enlarged on theſe words, "Alexander the copperſmith "hath done me much evil, the Lord reward him "according to his works." In ſhort, the pulpit was perverted by both into the mean purpoſes of ſpite and malevolence, and every one catching a ſhare of the infection, ſpoke of the clergymen as they were differently affected.

Whitfield's Orphan-houſe.

In Georgia Whitfield having obtained a track of land from the Truſtees, erected a wooden houſe two ſtories high, the dimenſions of which were ſeventy feet by forty, upon a ſandy beach nigh the ſea-ſhore. This houſe, which he called the Orphan-Houſe, he began to build about the year 1740, and afterwards finiſhed it at a great expence. It was intended to be a lodging for poor children, where they were to be clothed and fed by charitable contributions, and and trained up in the knowledge and practice of the Chriſtian religion. The deſign, beyond doubt, was humane and laudable; but, perhaps, had he travelled over the whole earth, he could ſcarcely have found out a ſpot of ground upon it more improper for the purpoſe. The whole province of Georgia could not furniſh him with a track of land of the ſame extent more barren and unprofitable. To this houſe poor children were to be ſent from at leaſt a healthy country, to be ſupported partly by charity, and partly by the produce of this land cultivated by negroes. Nor was the climate better ſuited

to

to the purpoſe than the ſoil, for it is certain, before the unwholeſome marſhes around the houſe were fertilized, the influences of both air and water muſt have conſpired to the children's deſtruction.

However, Whitfield having formed his chimerical project, determined to accompliſh it, and, inſtead of being diſcouraged by obſtacles and difficulties, gloried in deſpiſing them. He wandered through the Britiſh empire, perſuaded the ignorant and credulous part of the world of the excellence of his deſign, and obtained from them money, clothes, and books, to forward his undertaking, and ſupply his poor orphans in Georgia. About thirty years after this wooden houſe was finiſhed it was burned to the ground; during which time, if I am well informed, few or none of the children educated in it have proved either uſeful members of ſociety, or exemplary in reſpect to religion. Some ſay the fire was occaſioned by a foul chimney, and others by a flaſh of lightning; but whatever was the cauſe, it burnt with ſuch violence that little of either the furniture or library eſcaped the flames. When I ſaw the ruins of this fabric, I could not help reflecting on that great abuſe of the fruits of charity too prevalent in the world. That money which was ſunk here had been collected chiefly from the pooreſt claſs of mankind. Moſt of thoſe bibles which were here burnt had been extorted from indigent and credulous perſons, who perhaps had not money to purchaſe more for themſelves. Happy was it for the zealous founder of this inſtitution, that he did not live to ſee the ruin of his works. After his death he was brought from New-England, above eight hundred

hundred miles, and buried at this Orphan-houſe. In his laſt will he left Lady Huntingdon ſole executrix, who has now converted the lands and negroes belonging to the poor benefactors of Great Britain and her dominions, to the ſupport of clergymen of the ſame irregular ſtamp with the deceaſed, but void of his ſhining talents, and it is become a ſeminary of diſſenſion and ſedition.

Sketch of his character.

As George Whitfield appeared in ſuch different lights in the ſucceſſive ſtages of life, it is no eaſy matter to delineate his character without an uncommon mixture and vaſt variety of colours. He was in the Britiſh empire not unlike one of thoſe ſtrange and erratic meteors which appear now and then in the ſyſtem of nature. In his youth, as he often confeſſed and lamented, he was gay, giddy and profligate; ſo fondly attached to the ſtage, that he joined a company of ſtrolling actors and vagabonds, and ſpent a part of his life in that capacity. At this period it is probable he learned that grimace, buffoonery and geſticulation which he afterwards diſplayed from the pulpit. From an abandoned and licentious courſe of life he was converted; and, what is no uncommon thing, from one extreme he run into the other, and became a moſt zealous and indefatigable teacher of religion. Having ſtudied ſome time at Oxford, he received ordination in the church of England; yet he ſubmitted to none of the regulations of that or any other church, but became a preacher in churches, meeting-houſes, halls, fields, in all places, and to all denominations, without exception. Though little diſtinguiſhed for genius or learning, yet he poſ-

ſeſſed a lively imagination, much humour, and had acquired conſiderable knowledge of human nature and the manners of the world. His pretenſions to humanity and benevolence were great, yet he would ſwell with venom, like a ſnake, againſt oppoſition and contradiction. His reading was inconſiderable, and mankind being the object of his ſtudy, he could, when he pleaſed, raiſe the paſſions, and touch the tone of the human heart to great perfection. By this affecting eloquence and addreſs he impreſſed on the minds of many, eſpecially of the more ſoft and delicate ſex, ſuch a ſtrong ſenſe of ſin and guilt as often plunged them into dejection and deſpair. As his cuſtom was to frequent thoſe larger cities and towns, that are commonly beſt ſupplied with the means of inſtruction, it would appear that the love of fame and popular applauſe was his leading paſſion; yet in candour it muſt be acknowledged, that he always diſcovered a warm zeal for the honour of God and the happineſs of men. While he was almoſt worſhipped by the vulgar, men of ſuperior rank and erudition found him the polite gentleman, and the facetious and jocular companion. Though he loved good cheer, and frequented the houſes of the rich or more hoſpitable people of America, yet he was an enemy to all manner of exceſs and intemperance. While his vagrant temper led him from place to place, his natural diſcernment enabled him to form no bad judgment of the characters and manners of men wherever he went. Though he appeared a friend to no eſtabliſhed church, yet good policy winked at all his irregularities, as he every where proved a ſteady friend to monarchy and the civil conſtitution. He knew

knew well how to keep up the curioſity of the multitude, and his roving manner ſtamped a kind of novelty on his inſtructions. When expoſed to the taunts of the ſcoffer, and the ridicule of the flagitious, he remained firm to his purpoſe, and could even retort theſe weapons with aſtoniſhing eaſe and dexterity, and render vice abaſhed under the laſh of his ſatire and wit. Sometimes, indeed, he made little ſcruple of conſigning over to damnation ſuch as differed from him or deſpiſed him; yet he was not entirely devoid of liberality of ſentiment. To habitual ſinners his addreſs was for the moſt part applicable and powerful, and with equal eaſe could alarm the ſecure, and confirm the unſteady. Though, in prayer, he commonly addreſſed the ſecond perſon of the Trinity in a familiar and fulſome ſtyle, and in his ſermons uſed many ridiculous forms of ſpeech, and told many of his own wonderful works, yet theſe ſeemed only ſhades to ſet off to greater advantage the luſtre of his good qualities. In ſhort, though it is acknowledged he had many oddities and failings, and was too much the ſlave of party and vain-glory, yet in juſtice it cannot be denied, that religion in America owed not a little to the zeal, diligence, and oratory, of this extraordinary man.

HAVING ſaid ſo much with reſpect to the character which Mr. Whitfield bore in America, if we view the effects of his example and manner of life in that country, he will appear to us in a leſs favourable light. His great ambition was to be the founder of a new ſect, regulated entirely by popular fancy and caprice, depending on the gifts of nature, regard-

leſs of the improvements of education and all eccleſiaſtical laws and inſtitutions. Accordingly, after him a ſervile race of ignorant and deſpicable imitators ſprung up, and wandered from place to place, ſpreading doctrines ſubverſive of all public order and peace. We acknowledge the propriety and juſtice of allowing every reaſonable indulgence to men in matters of religion. The laws of toleration being part of our happy conſtitution, it lies with men to learn their duty from them, and claim protection under them. But after a church has been erected and eſtabliſhed by the moſt ſkilful architects, and for ages received the approbation of the wiſeſt and beſt men, it ſerves only to create endleſs confuſion to be making alterations and additions to gratify the fancy of every Gothic pretender to that art. Though Whitfield was in fact a friend to civil government, yet his followers on that continent have been diſtinguiſhed for the contrary character, and have for the moſt part diſcovered an averſion to our conſtitution both of church and ſtate. Toleration to men who remain peaceable ſubjects to the ſtate is reaſonable; but diſſention, when it grows lawleſs and headſtrong, is dangerous, and ſummons men in general to take ſhelter under the conſtitution, that the ſalutary laws of our country may be executed by its united ſtrength. No man ought to claim any lordſhip over the conſcience; but when the conſciences of obſtinate ſectaries become civil nuiſances, and deſtructive of public tranquillity, they ought to be reſtrained by legal authority. For certainly human laws, if they have not the primary, have, or ought to have, a ſecondary power to reſtrain the irregular and wild exceſſes of men in religious as well as in civil matters.

About the year 1752 the flames of war broke out among ſome Indian nations, which threatened to involve the province of Carolina in the calamity. The Creeks having quarrelled with their neighbours for permitting ſome Indians to paſs through their country to wage war againſt them, by way of revenge had killed ſome Cherokees nigh the gates of Charleſtown. A Britiſh trader to the Chickeſaw nation had likewiſe been ſcalped by a party of warriors belonging to the ſame nation. Governor Glen, in order to demand ſatisfaction for theſe outrages, ſent a meſſenger to the Creeks, requeſting a conference at Charleſtown with their leading men. The Creeks returned for anſwer, that they were willing to meet him, but as the path had not been open and ſafe for ſome time, they could not enter the ſettlement without a guard to eſcort them. Upon which the Governor ſent fifty horſemen, who met them at the confines of their territories, and convoyed Malatchee, with above an hundred of his warriors, to Charleſtown. A congreſs with Creeks.

As they arrived on Sunday the Governor did not ſummon his council until the day following, to hold a congreſs with them. At this meeting a number of gentlemen were preſent, whom curioſity had drawn together to ſee the warriors and hear their ſpeeches. When they entered the council-chamber the Governor aroſe and took them by the hand, ſignifying that he was glad to ſee them, and then addreſſed them to the following effect: "Being tied together by "the moſt ſolemn treaties, I call you by the beloved "names of friends and brothers. In the name of "the great King George I have ſent for you, on "buſineſs of the greateſt conſequence to your na- "tion. The governor's ſpeech to them.

" tion. I would have received you yeſterday on " your arrival, but it was a beloved day, dedicated " to repoſe and the concerns of a future life. I am " ſorry to hear that you have taken up the hatchet, " which I flattered myſelf had been for ever buried. " It is my deſire to have the chain brightened and " renewed, not only between you and the Engliſh, " but alſo between you and other Indian nations. " You are all our friends, and I could wiſh that all " Indians in friendſhip with us were alſo friends one " with another. You have complained to me of the " Cherokees permitting the northern Indians to come " through their country to war againſt you, and ſup- " plying them with proviſions and ammunition for " that purpoſe. The Cherokees, on the other hand, " alledge, that it is not in their power to prevent " them, and declare, that while their people happen " to be out hunting thoſe northern Indians come in " to their towns well armed, and in ſuch numbers " that they are not able to reſiſt them.

" I PROPOSE that a treaty of friendſhip and peace " be concluded firſt with the Engliſh, and then with " the Cherokees, in ſuch a manner as may render " it durable. Some of your people have from " ſmaller crimes proceeded to greater. Firſt, they " waylaid the Cherokees, and killed one of them in " in the midſt of our ſettlements; then they came " to Charleſtown, where ſome Cherokees at the " ſame time happened to be, and though I caution- " ed them, and they promiſed to do no miſchief, yet " the next day they aſſaulted and murdered ſeveral " of them nigh the gates of this town. For theſe " outrages I have ſent for you, to demand ſatisfac-

" tion;

" tion; and alſo for the murder committed in one " of your towns, for which ſatisfaction was made by " the death of another perſon, and not of the mur- " derer. For the future, I acquaint you, that no- " thing will be deemed as ſatisfaction for the lives of " our people, but the lives of theſe perſons themſelves " who ſhall be guilty of the murder. The Engliſh " never make treaties of friendſhip but with the " greateſt deliberation, and when made obſerve them " with the ſtricteſt punctuality. They are, at the " ſame time vigilant, and will not ſuffer other na- " tions to infringe the ſmalleſt article of ſuch trea- " ties. It would tend to the happineſs of your peo- " ple, were you equally careful to watch againſt the " beginnings of evil; for ſometimes a ſmall ſpark, " if not attended to, may kindle a great fire; and a " ſlight ſore, if ſuffered to ſpread, may endanger the " whole body. Therefore, I have ſent for you to " prevent farther miſchief, and I hope you come diſ- " poſed to give ſatisfaction for the outrages already " committed, and to promiſe and agree to maintain " peace and friendſhip with your neighbours for the " future."

THIS ſpeech delivered to the Indians was interpreted by Lachlan M'Gilvray, an Indian trader, who underſtood their language. After which Malatchee, the king of the Lower Creek nation, ſtood forth, and with a ſolemnity and dignity of manner that aſtoniſhed all preſent, in anſwer, addreſſed the Governor to the following effect: " I never had the honour to " ſee the great King George, nor to hear his talk— " But you are in his place——I have heard yours, " and I like it well—Your ſentiments are agreeable " to

Malatchee's anſwer.

" to my own—The great King wiſely judged, that
" the beſt way of maintaining friendſhip between
" white and red people was by trade and commerce:
" —He knew we are poor, and want many things,
" and that ſkins are all we have to give in exchange
" for what we want—I have ordered my people to
" bring you ſome as a preſent, and, in the name of
" our nation, I lay them at your Excellency's feet—
" You have ſent for us—we are come to hear what
" you have to ſay—But I did not expect to hear our
" whole nation accuſed for the faults of a few pri-
" vate men—Our head-men neither knew nor ap-
" proved of the miſchief done—We imagined our
" young men had gone a-hunting as uſual—When
" we heard what had happened at Charleſtown, I
" knew you would ſend and demand ſatisfaction—
" When your agent came and told me what ſatisfac-
" tion you required, I owned the juſtice of it—But
" it was not adviſeable for me alone to grant it—It
" was prudent to conſult with our beloved men, and
" have their advice in a matter of ſuch importance—
" We met—we found that the behaviour of ſome of
" our people had been bad—We found that blood
" had been ſpilt at your gates—We thought it juſt
" that ſatisfaction ſhould be made—We turned our
" thoughts to find out the chief perſons concerned;
" (for a man will ſometimes employ another to com-
" mit a crime he does not chuſe to be guilty of him-
" ſelf)—We found the Acorn Whiſtler was the chief
" contriver and promoter of the miſchief—We a-
" greed that he was the man that ought to ſuffer—
" Some of his relations, who are here preſent, then
" ſaid he deſerved death, and voted for it—Accord-
" ingly he was put to death—He was a very great

" warrior, and had many friends and relations in dif-
" ferent parts of the country—We thought it prudent
" to conceal for ſome time the true reaſon of his death,
" which was known only to the head men that con-
" certed it—We did this for fear ſome of his friends
" in the heat of fury would take revenge on ſome of
" your traders—At a general meeting all matters
" were explained—The reaſons of his death were
" made known—His relations approved of all that
" was done.——Satisfaction being made, I ſay no
" more about that matter—I hope our friendſhip
" with the Engliſh will continue as heretofore.

" As to the injuries done to the Cherokees, which
" you ſpoke of, we are ſorry for them—We acknow-
" ledge our young men do many things they ought
" not to do, and very often act like madmen—But
" it is well known I and the other head warriors did
" all we could to oblige them to make reſtitution—
" I rode from town to town with Mr. Boſomworth
" and his wife to aſſiſt them in this matter—Moſt of
" the things taken have been reſtored—When this
" was over, another accident happened which created
" freſh troubles—A Chickeſaw who lived in our na-
" tion, in a drunken fit ſhot a white man—I knew
" you would demand ſatisfaction—I thought it beſt
" to give it before it was aſked—The murder was
" committed at a great diſtance from me—I mounted
" my horſe and rode through the towns with your
" agent—I took the head men of every town along
" with me—We went to the place and demanded
" ſatisfaction—It was given—The blood of the In-
" dian was ſpilt for the blood of a white man—The
" uncle of the murderer purchaſed his life, and vo-

" luntarily killed himſelf in his ſtead—Now I have " done—I am glad to ſee you face to face to ſettle " thoſe matters—It is good to renew treaties of " friendſhip——I ſhall always be glad to call you " friends and brothers."

This ſpeech throws no ſmall light on the judicial proceedings of barbarous nations, and ſhews that human nature in its rudeſt ſtate poſſeſſes a ſtrong ſenſe of right and wrong. Although Indians have little property, yet here we behold their chief magiſtrate protecting what they have, and, in caſes of robbery, acknowledging the neceſſity of making reſtitution. They indeed chiefly injure one another in their perſons or reputations, and in all caſes of murder the guilty are brought to trial and condemned to death by the general conſent of the nation. Even the friends and relations of the murderer here voted for his death. But, what is more remarkable, they give us an inſtance of an atonement made, and juſtice ſatisfied, by the ſubſtitution of an innocent man in place of the guilty. An uncle voluntarily and generouſly offers to die in the place of his nephew, the ſavages accept of the offer, and in conſequence of his death declare that ſatisfaction is made. Next to perſonal defence, the Indian guards his character and reputation; for as it is only from the general opinion his nation entertains of his wiſdom, juſtice and valour, that he can expect to arrive at rank and diſtinction, he is exceedingly watchful againſt doing any thing for which he may incur public blame or diſgrace. In this anſwer to Governor Glen, Malatchee diſcovers conſiderable talents as a public ſpeaker, and appears to be inſenſible neither to his own dignity and freedom, nor to the honour and inde-

independence of his nation. Genius and liberty are the gifts of heaven; the former is univerſal as that ſpace over which it has ſcope to range, the latter inſpires confidence, and gives a natural confidence to our words and actions.

During the months of June, July, and Auguſt, 1752, the weather in Carolina was warmer than any of the inhabitants then alive had ever felt it, and the mercury in the ſhade often aroſe above the nintieth, and at one time was obſerved at the hundred and firſt degree of the thermometer; and, at the ſame time, when expoſed to the ſun, and ſuſpended at the diſtance of five feet from the ground, it aroſe above the hundred and twentieth diviſion. By this exceſſive heat the air becomes greatly rarified, and a violent hurricane commonly comes and reſtores the balance in the atmoſphere. In ſuch a caſe the wind uſually proceeds from the north-eaſt, directly oppoſite to the point from which it had long blown before. Thoſe ſtorms indeed ſeldom happen except in ſeaſons when there has been little thunder, when the weather has been long exceeding dry and intolerably hot, and though they occaſion damages to ſome individuals, there is reaſon to believe that they are wiſely ordered, and productive upon the whole of good and ſalutary effects. Among the cloſe and dark receſſes of the woods the air ſtagnates, and requires ſome violent ſtorm to clear it of putrid effluvia, and render it fit for reſpiration. At the ſame time the earth emits vapours which in a few days cauſes the fineſt poliſhed metals to ruſt. To penetrate through the thick foreſt, and reſtore the air to a ſalubrious ſtate, hurricanes may be uſeful and neceſſary. And

as ſuch ſtorms have been obſerved to be productive of good effects, the want of them for many years together may be deemed a great misfortune by the inhabitants, eſpecially ſuch as are expoſed to the noon-day heat, to the heavy fogs that fall every morning and evening, and all the ſeverities of the climate.

It is not improbable that the maritime parts of Carolina have been forſaken by the ſea. Though you dig ever ſo deep in thoſe places you find no ſtones or rocks, but every where ſand or beds of ſhells. As a ſmall decreaſe of water will leave ſo flat a country entirely bare, ſo a ſmall increaſe will again cover it. The coaſt is not only very level, but the dangerous hurricanes commonly proceed from the north-eaſt; and as the ſtream of the Gulf of Florida flows rapidly towards the ſame point, this large body of water, when obſtructed by the tempeſt, recurs upon the ſhore, and overflows the country.

A hurricane at Charleſtown.

In the month of September, 1752, a dreadful hurricane happened at Charleſtown. In the night before, it was obſerved by the inhabitants that the wind at north-eaſt began to blow hard, and continued increaſing in violence till next morning. Then the ſky appeared wild and cloudy, and it began to drizzle and rain. About nine o'clock the flood came rolling in with great impetuoſity, and in a little time roſe ten feet above high water mark at the higheſt tides. As uſual in ſuch caſes, the town was overflown, and the ſtreets were covered with boats, boards, and wrecks of houſes and ſhips. Before eleven all the ſhips in the harbour were driven aſhore,

aſhore, and ſloops and ſchooners were daſhing againſt the houſes of Bay-Street, in which great quantities of goods were damaged and deſtroyed. Except the Hornet man of war, which by cutting away her maſts, rode out the ſtorm, no veſſel eſcaped being damaged or wrecked. The tremor and conſternation which ſeized the inhabitants may be more eaſily conceived than expreſſed. Finding themſelves in the midſt of a tempeſtuous ſea, and expecting the tide to flow till one o'clock, its uſual hour, at eleven they retired to the upper ſtories of their houſes, and there remained deſpairing of life. At this critical time Providence however mercifully interpoſed, and ſurpriſed them with a ſudden and unexpected deliverance. Soon after eleven the wind ſhifted, in conſequence of which the waters fell five feet in the ſpace of ten minutes. By this happy change the Gulf ſtream, ſtemmed by the violent blaſt, had freedom to run in its uſual courſe, and the town was ſaved from imminent danger and deſtruction. Had the water continued to riſe, and the tide to flow until its uſual hour, every inhabitant of Charleſtown muſt have periſhed. Almoſt all the tiled and ſlated houſes were uncovered, ſeveral perſons were hurt, and ſome were drowned. The fortifications and wharfs were almoſt entirely demoliſhed: the proviſions in the field, in the maritime parts, were deſtroyed, and numbers of cattle and hogs periſhed in the waters. The peſt-houſe in Sullivan's iſland, built of wood, with fifteen perſons in it, was carried ſeveral miles up Cooper river, and nine out of the fifteen were drowned. In ſhort, ſuch is the low ſituation of Charleſtown, that it is ſubject to be deſtroyed at any time by ſuch an inundation, and the frequent warnings

warnings the people have had may juſtly fill them with a deep ſenſe of their dependent condition, and with conſtant gratitude to Providence for their preſervation.

The advantages of poor ſettlers in the province.

We have ſeen the hardſhips under which the Carolineans laboured from the hot climate and low ſituation of the province, it may not be improper to take a view of thoſe advantages afforded them which ſerved to animate them amidſt ſuch difficulties to induſtry and perſeverance. In that growing colony, where there are vaſt quantities of land unoccupied, the pooreſt claſs of people have many opportunities and advantages, from which they are entirely excluded in countries fully peopled and highly improved. During the firſt years of occupancy they are indeed expoſed to many dangers in providing for themſelves and families an habitation for a ſhelter againſt the rigours of the climate, and in clearing fields for raiſing the neceſſaries of life. But when they have the good fortune to ſurmount the hardſhips of the firſt years of cultivation, the inconveniencies gradually decreaſe in proportion to their improvements. The merchants being favoured with credit from Britain, are enabled to extend it to the ſwarm of labourers in the country. The planters having eſtabliſhed their characters for honeſty and induſtry, obtain hands to aſſiſt them in the harder taſks of clearing and cultivation. Their wealth conſiſts in the increaſe of their ſlaves, ſtock and improvements. Having abundance of waſte land, they can extend their culture in proportion to their capital. They live almoſt entirely on the produce of their eſtates, and conſequently ſpend but a ſmall part of their annual income. The ſurplus is yearly

yearly added to the capital, and they enlarge their proſpects in proportion to their wealth and ſtrength. At market if there be a great demand for the commodities they raiſe, this is an additional advantage, and renders their progreſs rapid beyond their moſt ſanguine expectations; they labour, and they receive more and more encouragement to perſevere, until they advance to an eaſy and comfortable ſtate. It has been obſerved, on the other hand, that few or none of thoſe emigrants that brought much property along with them have ever ſucceeded in that country.

Or, if the poor emigrant be an artificer, and chuſes to follow his trade, the high price of labour is no leſs encouraging. By the indulgence of the merchants, or by the ſecurity of a friend, he obtains credit for a few negroes. He learns them his trade, and a few good tradeſmen, well employed, are equal to a ſmall eſtate. Having got ſome hands, inſtead of a labourer he becomes an undertaker, and enters into contract with his employer, to erect his houſe; to build his ſhip; to furniſh his plantations with ſhoes, or the capital with bricks. In a little time he acquires ſome money, and, like ſeveral others in the city whoſe yearly gain exceeds what is requiſite for the ſupport of themſelves and families, lays it out on intereſt. Ten and eight *per cent.* being given for money, proved a great temptation, and induced many, who were averſe from the trouble of ſettling plantations, or were unable to beſtow that attention to them which they demanded, to take this method of increaſing their fortune. If the money-lender followed his employment in the capital, or reſerved in his hands a ſufficiency for family uſe, and allowed

The advantages of money lenders.

allowed the intereſt to be added yearly to the capital ſtock, his fortune increaſed faſt, and ſoon became conſiderable. Several perſons preferred this method of accumulating riches to that of cultivation, eſpecially thoſe whom age or infirmity had rendered unfit for action and fatigue.

NOTWITHSTANDING the extenſive credit commonly allowed the planting intereſt by the merchants, the number of borrowers always exceeded that of the lenders of money. Having vaſt extent of territory, the planters were eager to obtain numbers of labourers, which raiſed the demand for money, and kept up the high rate of intereſt. The intereſt of money in every country is for the moſt part according to the demand, and the demand according to the profits made by the uſe of it. The profits muſt always be great where men can afford to take money at the rate of eight and ten *per cent.* and allow it to remain in their hands upon compound intereſt. In Carolina labourers on good lands cleared their firſt coſt and charges in a few years, and therefore great was the demand for money in order to procure them.

And of the borrowers.

LET us next take a view of thoſe advantages in favour of the borrower of money. His landed eſtate he obtained from the Crown. The quit-rents and taxes were trifling and inconſiderable. Being both landlord and farmer he had perfect liberty to manage and improve his plantation as he pleaſed, and was accountable to none but himſelf for any of the fruits of his induſtry. His eſtate furniſhed him with game and fiſh, which he had freedom to kill and uſe at

pleaſure. In the woods his cattle, hogs and horſes grazed at their eaſe, attended perhaps only by a negro boy. If his ſheep did not thrive well, he had calves, hogs and poultry in abundance for the uſe of his family. All his able labourers he could turn to the field, and exert his ſtrength in raiſing his ſtaple commodity. The low country being every where interſperſed with navigable rivers and creeks, the expence of conveying his rice to the market, which otherwiſe would have been intolerable, was thereby rendered eaſy. Having proviſions from his eſtate to ſupport his family and labourers, he applies his whole ſtaple commodities for the purpoſes of anſwering the demands of the merchant and money-lender. He expects that his annual produce will not only anſwer thoſe demands againſt him, but alſo bring an addition to his capital, and enable him to extend his hand ſtill farther in the way of improvement. Hence it happened, that in proportion as the merchants extended credit to the planters, and ſupplied them with labourers for their lands, the profits returned to the capital yearly according to the increaſed number of hands employed in cultivation.

It is no eaſy thing to enumerate all the advantages of water carriage to a fruitful and commercial province. The lands are rendered more valuable by being ſituated on navigable creeks and rivers. The planters who live fifty miles from the capital, are at little more expence in ſending their proviſions and produce to its market, than thoſe who live within five miles of it. The town is ſupplied with plenty of proviſions, and its neighbourhood prevented from enjoying a monopoly of its market.

By this general and unlimited competition the price of proviſions is kept low, and while the money ariſing from them circulates equally and univerſally through the country, it contributes, in return, to its improvement. The planters have not only water carriage to the market for their ſtaple commodities, but on their arrival the merchant again commits them to the general tide of commerce, and receives in return what the world affords profitable to himſelf, and uſeful to the country in which he lives. Hence it happened, that no town was better ſupplied than Charleſtown with all the neceſſaries, conveniencies, and luxuries of life.

Great benefits enjoyed by the coloniſts.

Besides theſe advantages ariſing from good lands given them by the Crown, the Carolineans received protection to trade, a ready market, drawbacks and bounties, by their political and commercial connection with the mother country. The duties laid on many articles of foreign manufacture on their importation into Britain were drawn back, ſometimes the whole, almoſt always a great part, on their exportation to the colonies. Theſe drawbacks were always in favour of the conſumers, and ſupplied the provincial markets with foreign goods at a rate equally cheap as if they had been immediately imported from the place where they were manufactured. Hence the coloniſts were exempted from thoſe heavy duties which their fellow-ſubjects in Britain were obliged to pay, on moſt articles of foreign manufacture which they conſumed. Beſides, upon the arrival of ſuch goods in the country, the planters commonly had twelve months credit from the provincial merchant, who was ſatisfied with payment once in the year from all his cuſtomers. So

that

that to the conſumers in Carolina, Eaſt-India goods, German manufactures, Spaniſh, Portugal, Madeira and Fyal wines came cheaper than to thoſe in Great Britain. We have known coals, ſalt, and other articles brought by way of ballaſt, ſold cheaper in Charleſtown than in London.

But the coloniſts had not only thoſe drawbacks on foreign goods imported, but they were alſo allowed bounties on ſeveral articles of produce exported. For the encouragement of her colonies Great Britain laid high duties on ſeveral articles imported from foreign countries, and gave the coloniſts premiums and bounties on the ſame commodities. The planting tobacco was prohibited in England, in order to encourage it in America. The bounties on naval ſtores, indigo, hemp, and raw ſilk, while they proved an encouragement to induſtry, all terminated in favour of the plantations. Nor ought the Carolineans to forget the perfect freedom they enjoyed with reſpect to their trade with the Weſt Indies, where they found a convenient and moſt excellent market for their Indian corn, rice, lumber, and ſalt proviſions, and in return had rum, unclayed ſugar, coffee and molaſſes much cheaper than their fellow-ſubjects in Britain. I mention theſe things becauſe many of the coloniſts are ignorant of the privileges and advantages they enjoy; for, upon a general view of their circumſtances, and a compariſon of their caſe with that of their fellow-ſubjects in Britain and Ireland, they muſt find they had much ground for contentment, and none for complaint.

ANOTHER circumſtance we may mention to which few have paid ſufficient attention. It is true, Great Britain had laid the coloniſts under ſome reſtraints with reſpect to their domeſtic manufactures and their trade to foreign ports, but however much ſuch a ſyſtem of policy might affect the more northern colonies, it was at this time rather ſerviceable than prejudicial to Carolina. It ſerved to direct the views of the people to the culture of lands, which was both more profitable to themſelves and beneficial to the mother country. Though they had plenty of beaver ſkins, and a few hats were manufactured from them, yet the price of labour was ſo high, that the merchant could ſend the ſkins to England, import hats made of them, and underſell the manufacturers of Carolina. The province alſo furniſhed ſome wool and cotton, but before they could be made into cloth, they coſt the conſumer more money than the merchant demanded for the ſame goods imported. The province afforded leather, but before it could be prepared and made into ſhoes, the price was equally high, and often higher, than that of ſhoes imported from Britain. In like manner, with reſpect to many other articles, it would be for the advantage of the province as well as mother country to export the raw materials and import the goods manufactured. For while the inhabitants of Carolina can employ their hands to more advantage in cultivating waſte land, it will be their intereſt never to wear a woollen or linen rag of their own manufacture, to drive a nail of their own forging, nor uſe any ſort of plate, iron, braſs or ſtationary wares of their own making. Until the province ſhall grow more populous, cultivation is the moſt profitable employment, and the labourer injures himſelf

and

and family by preferring the leſs to the more profitable branch of induſtry.

Few alſo are the reſtrictions upon trade, which, in effect, could be deemed hurtful; for, excepting the veſſels which traded to the ſouthward of Cape Finiſterre, and were obliged to return to England to cancel their bond before they ſailed for Carolina, every other reſtraint may be ſaid to be ultimately in favour of the province. It was the intereſt of ſuch a flouriſhing colony to be always in debt to Great Britain, for the more labourers that were ſent to it, the more rapidly it advanced in riches. Suppoſe the planters this year ſtand much indebted to the merchants, and, by reaſon of an unfavourable ſeaſon, are rendered unable to anſwer the demands againſt them; the merchants, inſtead of ruining them, indulged them for another year, and perhaps intruſted them with double the ſum for which they ſtood indebted. This has frequently been found the moſt certain method of obtaining payment. In like manner the merchants muſt have indulgence from England, the primary ſource of credit. If the province could not obtain ſuch indulgence from any part of the world as from the mother country, it muſt be for its intereſt to ſupport its credit with thoſe generous friends who were both able and diſpoſed to give it. To lodge the yearly produce of the province in the hands of thoſe Engliſh creditors as ſoon as poſſible, is the ſureſt means of ſupporting this credit. Beſides, the London merchants being the beſt judges of the markets of Europe, can of courſe ſell the ſtaple commodities to the beſt advantage. The centrical ſituation of that city was favourable for intelligence; her merchants are famous over the world for their extenſive

extenſive knowledge in trade; they well knew the ports where there was the greateſt demand for the commodity; all which were manifeſtly in favour of the province in which it was raiſed. Were the planters to have the choice of their market, it is very doubtful whether ſuch liberty would be for their intereſt. Were they to export their produce on their own bottom, they would certainly be great loſers. Some who have made the attempt have honeſtly confeſſed the truth. While it divided their attention, it engaged them in affairs to which they were in general very great ſtrangers. Even the provincial merchants themſelves are not always perfect judges of the markets in Europe, nor could they have obtained ſuch unlimited credit in any other channel than that circumſcribed by the laws of their country. Here is a co-operation of a number of perſons united for promoting the intereſt and advantage of one another, and placed in circumſtances and ſituations well adapted for that purpoſe. So that, in fact, it is not for the intereſt of Carolina, in its preſent advancing ſtate, to be free from debt, far leſs of its planters to engage in trade, or its inhabitants in manufactures.

Progreſs of the province.

To form a right judgment of the progreſs of the province, and the mutual advantages reſulting from its political and commercial connection with Britain, we need only attend to its annual imports and exports. We cannot exactly ſay what its imports amounted to at this time; but if they amounted to above one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling in the year 1740, as we have already ſeen, they muſt have ariſen at leaſt to two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling in 1754. The quantities of rice exported this

this year were 104,682 barrels; of indigo, 216,924 pounds weight, which, together with naval ſtores, proviſions, ſkins, lumber, &c. amounted in value to two hundred and forty-two thouſand, five hundred and twenty-nine pounds ſterling. This ſhews the great value and importance of the province to Britain. And while ſhe depends on the mother country for all the manufactures ſhe uſes, and applies her attention to ſuch branches of buſineſs as are moſt profitable to herſelf and moſt beneficial to Britain, Carolina muſt in the nature of things proſper. Without this dependence, and mutual exchange of good offices, the colony might have ſubſiſted, but could never have thrived and flouriſhed in ſo rapid a manner.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

ALTHOUGH the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle extended to the ſubjects of both Britain and France reſiding in America, yet the boundaries of the reſpective territories claimed by thoſe rival ſtates were by no means fixed in ſo clear and preciſe a manner as to preclude all grounds of future diſpute. The limits of Nova Scotia in particular, and thoſe of the extenſive back ſettlements of Virginia and Pennſylvania, were neither clearly underſtood nor accurately marked. In conſequence of which, as the coloniſts extended their culture backwards encroachments were made, or ſuppoſed to be made, which created jealouſies and differences between the Britiſh and French ſubjects on that continent. Some merchants trading to Virginia and Pennſylvania having formed a project for a ſettlement on the Ohio, obtained a grant of ſix hundred thouſand acres of land from the King, together with an excluſive privilege of trafficking with Indian nations nigh that river. To theſe territories the French claimed a right; and, to keep poſſeſſion, as well as to engroſs the Indian trade, built a fort on the banks of the Ohio river, which they called Fort Duqueſne. This ſituation was very convenient for preſerving the friendſhip of Indian nations, an object of the utmoſt importance to the French, as the ſubjects of Britain in America were at that time vaſtly more numerous and powerful than thoſe of France.

A diſpute about the limits of Britiſh and French territories.

Tobacco being a plant which quickly exhauſts the richeſt lands, the planters of Virginia were accuſtomed gradually to ſtretch backward, and occupy ſuch freſh ſpots of ground as promiſed them the greateſt returns. Some had even croſſed the Allegany mountains, where they found rich vallies lying waſte, upon which they ſettled plantations; and though the land-carriage of ſuch a heavy and bulky commodity was expenſive, yet they found that the ſuperiority of their crops made them ſome compenſation. To this territory beyond the mountains, as well as the other marked and meaſured out for the Ohio Company, the French laid claim, and ſent a conſiderable garriſon from Montreal to Fort Duqueſne, to defend their pretended right. The commander in chief of Canada wrote a letter to the Governor of Virginia, complaining of encroachments made on his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's territories, and demanding that ſuch Britiſh planters and traders as had ſettled on thoſe lands ſhould withdraw, otherwiſe he would be obliged to ſeize both their properties and perſons. No regard being paid to his complaints, the commandant of Fort Duqueſne ſeized by force three Britiſh traders, and goods to a large amount, and carried them to Montreal. Upon which the Governor of Virginia determined to reſent the injury, and immediately began to concert meaſures for the protection of the frontiers. He raiſed a body of militia, and ſent them over the mountains to watch the motions of their troubleſome neighbours, and obtained reinforcements from North and South Carolina to aſſiſt them againſt the French garriſon. This detachment, under the command of Major Waſhington, encamped near Fort Duqueſne, between whom and the French garriſon hoſtilities commenced in America;

rica; and the flame of war afterwards ſpreading, involved Europe in the quarrel.

FROM this period the great object which the French kept in view was to ſtrengthen their frontiers, and make all poſſible preparations for defending themſelves againſt the ſtorm which they foreſaw gathering in America. Though they ſeemed averſe from an open declaration of war, yet they continued pouring troops into the continent, and raiſing a line of forts to ſecure a communication between their colony at the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi and their great ſettlement in Canada. They amuſed the Britiſh adminiſtration with fruitleſs negociations about the limits of Nova Scotia, while they were buſily employed in the execution of this great plan. Their deſign, however, was no ſecret to the more diſcerning part of the Americans, who plainly perceived from ſuch preparations that hoſtilities were approaching. In Acadia they erected a fort at Chinecto, to confine the Britiſh ſubjects of Nova Scotia within the peninſula. At Crown Point another was raiſed, on lands claimed by the King of Great Britain, well ſituated for haraſſing the back ſettlements of New York and Connecticut. Another was built at Niagara, on land belonging to the Six Nations in alliance with Britain. While the Canadians were falling down the Ohio river, and raiſing ſtrong-holds, the forces at Penſacola and New Orleans were alſo forcing their way up the Miſſiſſippi, and eſtabliſhing garriſons on the moſt advantageous poſts, on purpoſe to meet their friends from Canada, and confine the Britiſh ſettlements to the ſpace between the mountains and the Atlantic ſea. The more eaſily to accompliſh this great deſign, it was

A chain of forts raiſed by the French.

neceſſary to ſecure by all poſſible means the intereſt of the ſavage nations. For this purpoſe miſſionaries were ſent among the different tribes, who conformed to the dreſs, manners and cuſtoms of the ſavages, and repreſented the Britiſh heretics in the moſt odious light, making the Indians believe that their ſafety and happineſs depended on the total extirpation of ſuch men from America. Though ſome tribes rejected their friendſhip, yet it is certain that many were won over by their inſinuating arts and intrigues, and entered into alliances with them. When a general congreſs was held at Albany fewer Indians than uſual at ſuch meetings attended, which afforded grounds of ſuſpicion, and obliged the governors of the Britiſh colonies to double their diligence for watching the motions of their enterpriſing neighbours.

The diſtracted ſtate of the Britiſh colonies.

At the ſame time the ſituation of ſome of the Britiſh colonies proved favourable to the hoſtile preparations and attempts of their enemies. Their claſhing intereſts had bred jealouſies and animoſities among them, inſomuch that it was no eaſy matter to bring them firmly to unite, in order to oppoſe a common enemy with vigour and ſpirit. They believed themſelves unable to withſtand the militia of Canada ſupported by ſome regiments of regular troops from France, and therefore in the moſt humble manner implored the protection of Britain. They were filled with terrible apprehenſions of the French power, declaring that their vanity and ambition had nothing leſs in view at this period than to divide the weſtern world with Spain, and make all its riches center in the houſe of Bourbon. But whether they had ſuch a view or not, one thing is plain, that the reduction of

of the Britiſh empire in America would facilitate the accompliſhment of ſuch a deſign, as the Portugueſe dominions muſt afterwards fall an eaſy prey to thoſe two powerful potentates.

THOUGH Great Britain was ſenſible of the danger which threatened her colonies, yet as the number of Britiſh ſettlers on the continent exceeded that of the French, being not leſs than twenty to one, ſhe expected that they would unite among themſelves, and raiſe a fund for the common defence. Hitherto ſhe had nurſed and protected them, and many of the colonies had arrived at a conſiderable degree of opulence and ſtrength. They had the eaſieſt taxes of any civilized people upon earth. They had enjoyed many civil privileges, and commercial advantages, from their connection with the mother country. As their reſources were conſiderable, it was hoped their zeal would not be wanting for their own defence. To give a check to any encroachments of the French in that quarter, Great Britain was more remotely, America herſelf more immediately, concerned. Inſtructions were therefore ſent to the governors of the different provinces, to recommend unanimity to the people, and the neceſſity of an aſſociation for their mutual defence. But when the raiſing of men and money was propoſed to the aſſemblies they fell into diſputes among themſelves, which became more violent in proportion as the enemy approached their habitations. Some pleaded extraordinary privileges from their charters; others ſtarted frivolous and abſurd objections, inſiſting on punctilios as pretences for delay. In ſhort, ſo different were their conſtitutions and forms of government, ſo divided were they in their views

views and intereſts, that it was found impoſſible to unite them together, in order to give their force its due weight. The frontiers were naked and extenſive, the inhabitants upon them were thin and ſcattered, and utterly unequal to the ſervice requiſite without the aſſiſtance of their neighbours. The flames of war had broke out on ſome of them, and the neighbouring provinces could no otherwiſe be ſafe than by ſtretching forth their hands in helping to extinguiſh them. Thus, while the French were acting in concert under one commander and chief, the Britiſh coloniſts were ſpending that time in barren deliberations and private diſputes which they ought to have employed in fortifying their borders and checking the progreſs of their enemy. What was in fact the buſineſs of every man ſeemed to engage the attention of none, and all kept their eyes fixed on the mother country for protection, regarding themſelves as diſintereſted in the general ſafety of the empire, and very unequal to their own defence.

While thus one province refuſed help to another, Great Britain, notwithſtanding the extenſive dominions ſhe had to guard in different quarters of the globe, generouſly undertook the protection of America. As the greateſt dangers ſeemed to hang over the province of Virginia, General Braddock was ſent out with a conſiderable body of men to aſſiſt the Virginians in driving the French from their frontiers. This haughty and raſh leader, being poſſeſſed of conſiderable ſkill in the European arts of war, entertained a ſovereign contempt for an American enemy, and advanced againſt Fort Duqueſne without even the ſmalleſt doubt of ſucceſs. However, the French had intelli-

intelligence of his approach, and were prepared to receive him. Having collected a large body of Indians, they had taken poſſeſſion of an advantageous ground, and placed the regulars on a riſing hill in front, and the ſavages in the dark woods on each ſide. General Braddock, inſtead of keeping ſmall parties before the main body, to ſcour the woods as he advanced, and explore every dangerous paſs, marched his men, according to the cuſtom in Europe, in a cloſe compacted body, and unfortunately fell into the ſnare which his enemies had laid for him. The French regulars in the front began the attack from behind a breaſt-work, while the Indians kept up an irregular and ſcattered fire from the dark thickets on each ſide, which ſurprized and confounded the Britiſh ſoldiers, who were utter ſtrangers to ſuch methods of attack. Almoſt every ſhot took effect, and the brave men obſerving their neighbours falling by their ſide, were put into confuſion and fled, refuſing to return to the charge againſt inviſible aſſailants, notwithſtanding every effort uſed by the officers for that purpoſe. Braddock with many brave officers and men fell in this field, and the remainder retreated with precipitation to Philadelphia, leaving theſe frontiers in a worſe condition than they were in before.

General Braddock's defeat in Virginia.

Colonel Johnſton, who marched with about three thouſand men againſt Crown Point, was indeed more ſucceſsful than this raſh commander in Virginia. Being better acquainted with the woods, and the various methods of attack, he could both avail himſelf of the advantages, and guard againſt the dangers ariſing from the nature of the country. With cautious ſteps he advanced againſt the enemy, until he reached

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ed Lake George, where a party of his advanced guard being attacked retreated to the main body. The French purſued them, and a bloody battle enſued between the two armies, equally ſkilled in buſh-fighting, which terminated much to the honour of the Britiſh officer. The enemy was repulſed with conſiderable loſs, leaving Baron de Dieſcau wounded in the field, who, with many others, fell into Johnſton's hands, and were made priſoners of war. This ſmall advantage gained over the French ſerved in ſome meaſure to revive the drooping ſpirits of the coloniſts; yet ſtill they entertained the moſt diſcouraging apprehenſions of the French power in the woods, and ſeemed ardently to long for the relief and aſſiſtance of the mother country.

Colonel Johnſton's ſucceſs at Lake George.

While theſe hoſtilities were openly carrying on in the northern parts of America, it was judged prudent to conſult the ſafety of the provinces to the ſouth, and put them in the beſt poſture of defence. To prevent the fatal influence of French emiſſaries among the Indian tribes, it was thought neceſſary to build ſome ſmall forts in the heart of their country. The Indians on the Ohio river, from the ſucceſs which attended their arms at Fort Duqueſne, entertained the higheſt ideas of French courage and conduct, and were trying to ſeduce the Cherokees, who were at this time the firmeſt allies of Britain. A meſſage was ſent to Governor Glen from the chief warrior of the over-hill ſettlements, acquainting him that ſome Frenchmen and their allies were among their people, endeavouring to poiſon their minds, and that it would be neceſſary to hold a general congreſs with the nation, and renew their former treaties of friendſhip.

He aſſured the Governor, that though he had been wounded in his younger years, and was now old, yet he would meet him half way for this purpoſe, if he ſhould even be carried on the backs of his people. Accordingly, Governor Glen appointed a place for holding a congreſs, and agreed to meet the warrior; for as the clouds were gathering every where on the American horizon, the friendſhip of the Cherokees at ſuch a time was an object of too much importance to Carolina to be overlooked or neglected.

It may be remarked, that the Cherokees differ in ſome reſpects from other Indian nations that have wandered often from place to place, and fixed their habitations on ſeparate diſtricts. From time immemorial they have had poſſeſſion of the ſame territory which at preſent they occupy. They affirm, that their forefathers ſprung from that ground, or deſcended from the clouds upon thoſe hills. Theſe lands of their anceſtors they value above all things in the world. They venerate the places where their bones lie interred, and eſteem it diſgraceful in the higheſt degree to relinquiſh theſe ſacred repoſitories. The man that would refuſe to take the field in defence of theſe hereditary poſſeſſions, is regarded by them as a coward, and treated as an outcaſt from their nation. To the over-hill villages the French had an eaſy acceſs by means of rivers that emptied themſelves into the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi. Their middle ſettlements and towns in the valley lay more convenient for trading with the Carolineans. Hitherto they deſpiſed the French, whom they called light as a feather, fickle as the wind, and deceitful as ſerpents; and, being naturally of a very grave caſt, they

conſidered the levity of that people as an unpardonable inſult. They looked upon themſelves as a great and powerful nation, and though their number was much diminiſhed, yet they could bring from their different towns about three thouſand men to the field. At this time they had neither arms nor ammunition to defend themſelves againſt their enemy, and the Governor of Carolina wanted liberty to build two forts on their lands, in order to ſecure their friendſhip and trade. As the French were tampering with them, and had ſhewn a keenneſs more than common to gain ſome footing with them, it behoved the province to exert itſelf, in order to prevent if poſſible any alliance with its enemies.

Governor Glen holds a congreſs with the Cherokees.

ACCORDINGLY, in 1755, Governor Glen met the Cherokee warriors in their own country, with a view to purchaſe ſome lands from them; and, after the uſual ceremonies previous to ſuch ſolemn treaties were over, the Governor ſat down under a ſpreading tree, and Chulochcullah being choſen ſpeaker for the Cherokee nation, came and took his ſeat beſide him. The other warriors, about five hundred in number, ſtood around them in ſolemn ſilence and deep attention. Then the Governor aroſe, and made a ſpeech in name of his king, repreſenting his great power, wealth and goodneſs, and his particular regard for his children the Cherokees. He reminded them of the happineſs they had long enjoyed by living under his protection; and added, that he had many preſents to make them, and expected they would ſurrender a ſhare of their territories in return for them. He acquainted them of the great poverty and wicked deſigns of the French, and hoped they would permit none

none of them to enter their towns. He demanded lands to build two forts in their country, to protect them againſt their enemies, and to be a retreat to their friends and allies, who furniſhed them with arms, ammunition, hatchets, clothes, and every thing that they wanted.

When the Governor had finiſhed his ſpeech, Chulochcullah aroſe, and holding his bow in one hand, his ſhaft of arrows and other ſymbols uſed by them on ſuch occaſions in the other, in anſwer ſpoke to the following effect. "What I now ſpeak our "father the great king ſhould hear—We are bro- "thers to the people of Carolina—one houſe covers "us all." Then taking a boy by the hand he preſented him to the Governor, ſaying, "We, our "wives and our children, are all children of the "great King George—I have brought this child, "that when he grows up he may remember our "agreement on this day, and tell it to the next ge- "neration, that it may be known for ever." Then opening his bag of earth, and laying the ſame at the Governor's feet, he ſaid, "We freely ſurrender "a part of our lands to the great King—The "French want our poſſeſſions, but we will defend "them while one of our nation ſhall remain alive." Then ſhewing his bows and arrows, he added, "Theſe are all the arms we can make for our de- "fence—We hope the King will pity his children "the Cherokees, and ſend us guns and ammuni- "tion—We fear not the French—Give us arms and "we will go to war againſt the enemies of the great "King." Then delivering the Governor a ſtring of

wampum in confirmation of what he had ſaid, he added, "My ſpeech is at an end—It is the voice "of the Cherokee nation—I hope the Governor "will ſend it to the King, that it may be kept for "ever."

And purchaſes a large tract of land from them.

At this congreſs a territory of prodigious extent was ceded and ſurrendered to the King. Deeds of conveyance were drawn up, and formally executed by their head men in name of the whole people. It contained not only much rich land, but there the air was more ſerene, and the climate more healthy, than in the maritime parts. It exhibited many pleaſant and romantic ſcenes, formed by an intermixture of beautiful hills, fruitful vallies, rugged rocks, clear ſtreams, and gentle water-falls. The hills were of a ſtiff and tenacious clay, but the vallies of a deep, fat mould, and were covered with perpetual verdure. The acquiſition at that time was ſo far of importance to Carolina, as it removed the ſavages at a greater diſtance from the ſettlements, and allowed the inhabitants liberty to extend backwards, in proportion as their number increaſed.

Forts built in defence of Carolina.

Soon after the ceſſion of theſe lands, Governor Glen built a fort about three hundred miles from Charleſtown, afterwards called Fort Prince George, which was ſituated on the banks of the river Savanna, and within gun-ſhot of an Indian town called Keowee. This fort was made in the form of a ſquare, and had an earthen rampart about ſix feet high, on which ſtockades were fixed, with a ditch, a natural glacis on two ſides, and baſtions at the angles,

on

on each of which four ſmall cannon were mounted. It contained barracks for an hundred men, and was deſigned for a defence to the weſtern frontiers of the province. About an hundred and ſeventy miles further down there was another ſtrong-hold, called Fort Moore, in a beautiful commanding ſituation on the banks of the ſame river. In the year following another fort was erected, called Fort Loudon, among the Upper Cherokees, ſituated on Tenaſſee river, upwards of five hundred miles diſtant from Charlestown; to which place it was very difficult at all times, but, in caſe of a war with the Cherokees, utterly impracticable to convey neceſſary ſupplies. Theſe ſtrongholds, together with thoſe of Frederica and Auguſta in Georgia, were garriſoned by his Majeſty's independent companies of foot, ſtationed there for the protection of the two provinces.

After having fortified theſe frontiers, the ſettlers of Carolina began to ſtretch backward, and occupied lands above an hundred and fifty miles from the ſhore. New emigrants from Ireland, Germany and the northern colonies obtained grants in theſe interior parts, and introduced the cultivation of wheat, hemp, flax and tobacco, for which the ſoil anſwered better there than in the low lands nearer the ſea. The cattle, ſheep, hogs and horſes multiplied faſt, and having a country of vaſt extent to range over, they found plenty of proviſions in it through the whole year. From different parts new ſettlers were invited to thoſe hilly and more healthy parts of Carolina, where they laboured with greater ſafety than among the ſwamps, and ſucceſs crowned their induſtry. By degrees public roads were made, and they conveyed their produce in waggons

to

to the capital, where they found an excellent market for all their productions, but eſpecially the proviſions which they raiſed.

ALTHOUGH the ſoil and climate of the province ſuited the fineſt fruits and vegetable productions, yet the garden had long been neglected, and the orchard had engaged the attention only of a few. The people of Bermuda, not many years ago, carried to the market in Charleſtown cabbages raiſed on that iſland, and the northern colonies their apples and Iriſh potatoes. But now the Carolineans found, by chuſing a ſpot of land with judgment for the garden, that it would furniſh them with all neceſſaries of this kind. Every ſpring and autumn brought them a crop of European peas and beans. Muſk and water melons thrive exceedingly well even on the ſandy maritime iſlands, and arrive at a degree of perfection unknown in many parts of Europe. All kinds of ſallad, ſuch as lettuce, endive, creſſes, parſley, radiſhes, unions, will grow there in all ſeaſons of the year, excepting one, and as nature has denied the people this kind of nouriſhment during the ſummer months, it is probable it muſt on that account be unwholeſome. The garden alſo yielded abundance of cabbages, brocoli, cauliflower, turnips, ſpinage, cucumbers, ſquaſhes, artichokes, pompions, aſparagus, *&c.* in great perfection. The climate indeed refuſes the people of Carolina currants and gooſeberries, as every attempt to raiſe them has failed; but they have oranges, figs, peaches, apricots, nectarines and ſtrawberries in plenty, which are exceedingly agreeable and refreſhing in the ſummer ſeaſon. Olives, grapes, cherries, citrons and plumbs

Its excellent fruits and plants.

plumbs will grow, though not cultivated in common; but apples, pears, pomegranates, cheſnuts and walnuts are, or at leaſt may be, raiſed in abundance. Many phyſical roots and herbs, ſuch as China-root, ſnake-root, ſaſſafras, are the ſpontaneous growth of the woods; and ſage, balm and roſemary thrive well in the gardens. The planters diſtil brandy of an inferior quality from peaches; and gather berries from the myrtle buſhes of which they make excellent candles. The woods will alſo ſupply them with a variety of cherries, mulberries, wild grapes and nuts. In ſhort, nature hath denied the diligent and ſkilful planter few of the moſt uſeful vegetables, and many delicious fruits grow to a degree of perfection exceeded by no country in Europe.

At the ſame time it muſt be acknowledged, that ſome diſadvantages attend the climate with reſpect to the vegetable kingdom. European grapes have been tranſplanted, and ſeveral attempts made to raiſe wine in Carolina; but ſo overſhaded are the vines planted in the woods, and ſo foggy is the ſeaſon of the year when they begin to ripen, that they ſeldom come to maturity. But as excellent grapes have been raiſed in gardens where they are expoſed to the ſun, we are apt to believe that proper methods have not been taken for encouraging that branch of agriculture, conſidering its great importance in a national view. Some tolerable wine has been made from the native vines, which do not ripen ſo early in the ſeaſon as thoſe tranſplanted from Europe; and perhaps in ſome future day, when the planters have acquired greater ſkill, and made trials of different ſoils and ſituations, the vineyard culture may

may ſucceed better than it has yet done, and turn to ſome national account, like other profitable articles of American huſbandry.

In ſome ſeaſons the cold blaſt from the north-weſt proves very deſtructive to the orange, the olive and peach trees. In mild winters the trees bloſſom early, ſometimes by the beginning of February, often before the middle of it. After the juices begin to riſe, ſhould the north weſt wind bring a cold froſty night, it commonly kills every tender ſhoot. Governor Glen makes mention of a froſt which happened on the 7th of February, 1747, which killed almoſt all the orange trees in the country. The trees being ready to bloſſom about the time the froſt came, it burſt all their veſſels, inſomuch that not only the bark, but even the bodies of many of them were ſplit, and all on the ſide next the ſun. Such blaſts are incredibly ſharp and piercing. The Governor ſays he found ſeveral birds frozen to death near his houſe. We cannot vouch for the truth of this aſſertion, but we know no climate where the cold is more ſeverely felt by the human body.

Its minerals undiſcovered.

With reſpect to the mineral kingdom we may ſay, who can tell what rich mines lie hid in Carolina, when no perſon has ſought for them? If it be true that mountainous countries are favourable to mines, it may be preſumed that this province, in which there are many extenſive and high mountains, is not without its hidden treaſures, no more than the other parts of the continent. Pennſylvania hath already exhibited to the world ſome uſeful minerals, and Carolina in time will probably do the ſame. But while

the ſurface of the earth yields abundance of vegetable productions for the uſe of the inhabitants, and a plentiful livelihood can be obtained by eaſier means than that of digging into its bowels, it can ſcarcely be expected that they will apply themſelves to deep and uncertain reſearches. It remains for a more populous and improved ſtate, when ingenious men will probably attempt to explore thoſe ſubterranean riches, which as yet lie neglected. Mineral water has been found in ſeveral parts, and ſuch ſprings will help both to lead men to the important diſcovery, and animate them with the hopes of ſucceſs.

The province of Georgia, with reſpect to improvement, ſtill remained little better than a wilderneſs, and the vaſt expence it had coſt the mother country might perhaps have been laid out to greater advantage in other parts of the continent. In the government of that colony John Ellis, a Fellow of the Royal Society, ſucceeded Captain John Reynolds. The rich ſwamps on the ſides of the rivers lay uncultivated; and the planters had not yet found their way into the interior parts of the country, where the lands not only exceeded thoſe in the maritime parts in fertility, but where the climate was alſo more healthy and pleaſant. Excepting vagabonds and fraudulent debtors, who fled to them from Carolina, few of the Georgians had any negroes to aſſiſt them in cultivation; ſo that, in 1756, the whole exports of the country were 2997 barrels of rice, 9335 lb. of indigo, 268 lib. of raw ſilk, which, together with ſkins, furs, lumber and proviſions amounted only to 16,776 pounds ſterling.

ALTHOUGH the hoſtilities which had commenced between Great Britain and France ſtill continued, yet both potentates remained averſe from an open declaration of war. William Lyttleton, now Lord Weſtcot, being appointed governor of South Carolina, in his way through the Bay of Biſcay, was intercepted by a French ſquadron under the command of Count de Guay, and carried into France; but an order from the French court came to releaſe the ſhip, and permit the Governor to return to England. The Britiſh commanders at ſea indeed had orders to ſeize all French ſhips and bring them into port, yet as ſome hopes of an accommodation ſtill remained, the crews were only confined, and the cargoes remained entire. But ſo ſoon as the news of the bare-faced invaſions of our dominions in the Mediterranean, joined with the many encroachments in America, had reached the Britiſh court, all proſpects of an accommodation vaniſhed at once, and war was publicly declared againſt France on the 17th of May, 1756.

BEFORE the end of that year William Pitt, who had long been diſtinguiſhed in the Houſe of Commons for a bold and powerful orator, was called to the helm, and to his uncommon popularity added the whole influence of adminiſtration. After his preferment ſuch bold plans of operation were introduced to the council, as were calculated at once to rouze the Britiſh nation and to alarm her enemies. The city of London, having the greateſt confidence in the ſpirit and abilities of the miniſter, poured in its treaſures to his aſſiſtance, and ſo great were his reſources, that his ſchemes, however vaſt, never failed for want of money. From this period vigour and

deciſion

deciſion attended almoſt every warlike enterprize; a martial ſpirit pervaded the navy and army, and every officer ſeemed emulous of diſtinction and glory in the ſervice of his country. This new miniſter gave the enemy ſo much employment, that for the future they had ſcarce time to breathe, and extended the powerful arm of Britain from the centre to the extremities of the empire.

In America John Earl of Loudon had been appointed commander in chief; but ſuch was the ſtate of affairs on that continent, that all he could do was not ſufficient to prevent the encroachments of the enemy. So diſunited were the provincials, and ſo different were their principles, views and intereſts, that each colony ſeemed concerned only for its own defence, and determined to act independent of its neighbour; while the French were firmly united under one commander in chief, the Governor of Canada. Lord Loudon plainly ſaw that nothing remained for him to atchieve, and therefore pitched his camp at Albany, and there determined to continue with his little army on the defenſive, until a reinforcement ſhould arrive from Britain. The French ſtill wore the laurel, and triumphed in the foreſt, having every poſſible advantage their heart could deſire from the divided ſtate of Britiſh America.

But although the campaign under Lord Loudon was opened under many diſadvantages, this gallant officer was not idle during the year. Having made himſelf maſter of the ſtate of affairs on the continent, he perceived that the French, though united and ſtrong, were nevertheleſs vulnerable, and drew up a plan of

operations for the enſuing campaign, which he tranſmitted to the miniſter in Britain. Immediately preparations were made for carrying it into execution. It had been propoſed to raiſe ſome regiments in America, but the levies went on ſlowly. As many of the coloniſts fit for ſervice were foreigners, and only underſtood their native language, it was thought proper to allow them foreign officers to command them upon their taking the oaths to government, which contributed not a little to the more ſpeedy completion of the Royal American regiments.

The Britiſh forces augmented.

EARLY in the year following a conſiderable reinforcement from Britain arrived at New York. The Indians in alliance with us were furniſhed with arms, and encouraged to join the army. Among the Britiſh forces ſent out there was a regiment of Highlanders, who were in many reſpects well qualified for the ſervice. It is impoſſible to deſcribe how much the ſavages were delighted with the dreſs, manners and muſic of this regiment. Their ſprightly manner of dancing, their dexterity in the uſe of arms, and natural vivacity and intrepidity, the ſavages greatly admired, and expreſſed a ſtrong inclination for attending the Scotch warriors to the field. To prevent them from joining the enemy it was not only neceſſity to employ thoſe warriors, but it was thought they might be rendered uſeful for ſcouring the dark thickets before the regular army. Lieutenant Kennedy, to encourage them, entered into their humour, and, in order to head them, dreſſed and painted himſelf like an Indian. They gave him a ſquaw, and the nation to which ſhe belonged having made him a king, no ſmall ſervice was expected from the new alliance.

WHEN

When General Abercrombie ſucceeded Lord Loudon as commander in chief in America, the Britiſh force being conſiderably augmented, bolder enterpriſes were undertaken. It was agreed to attack the French ſettlements in different places. Though this commander met with a ſharp repulſe at Ticonderago, the French paid dear for this advantage by the loſs of Cape Breton, which opened the way into Canada. Fort Frontenac next ſurrendered to Colonel Bradſtreet, in which were found vaſt quantities of proviſion and ammunition, that had been deſigned for the French forces on the Ohio. The great loſs ſuſtained by the enemy at this place facilitated the reduction of Fort Duqueſne, againſt which General Forbes was advancing with great vigilance and conſiderable force. This fortreſs the enemy, after a few ſkirmiſhes, determined to abandon; and having burnt their houſes, and deſtroyed their works, fell down the Ohio river in boats to their ſtrong-holds erected beyond the Cherokee mountains. No ſooner was the Britiſh flag erected on Fort Duqueſne, than the numerous tribes of Indians came in and made their ſubmiſſion; and, from a conviction of the ſuperior valour and ſtrength of the Britiſh army, joined the conquerors. Although the enemy loſt few men at this place, yet their power in America received a heavy ſtroke by the diviſion of their force which the loſs of it occaſioned. All communication between their ſettlements on the ſouth parts and thoſe of Canada being cut off, they could no longer act in concert, and their future exertions were rendered more feeble and ineffectual.

Their firſt ſucceſs in America.

However, the flight of this French garriſon to the ſouth promiſed little good to Carolina. The

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ſcene of action was changed only from one place to another, and the baleful influence of thoſe active and enterpriſing enemies ſoon appeared among the upper tribes of Cherokees. An unfortunate quarrel with the Virginians helped to forward their deſigns, by opening to them an eaſier acceſs into the towns of the ſavages. In the different expeditions againſt Fort Duqueſne, the Cherokees, agreeable to treaty, had ſent conſiderable parties of warriors to the aſſiſtance of the Britiſh army. As the horſes in thoſe parts run wild in the woods, it was cuſtomary, both among Indians and white people on the frontiers, to lay hold on them and appropriate them to their own purpoſes. While the ſavages were returning home through the back parts of Virginia, many of them having loſt their horſes, laid hold of ſuch as came in their way, never imagining that they belonged to any individual in the province. The Virginians however, inſtead of aſſerting their right in a legal way, reſented the injury by force of arms, and killed twelve or fourteen of the unſuſpicious warriors, and took ſeveral more priſoners. The Cherokees, with reaſon, were highly provoked at ſuch ungrateful uſage from allies, whoſe frontiers they had helped to change from a field of blood into peaceful habitations, and when they came home told what had happened to their nation. The flame ſoon ſpread through the upper towns, and thoſe who had loſt their friends and relations were implacable, and breathed nothing but fury and vengeance againſt ſuch perfidious friends. In vain did the chieftains interpoſe their authority, nothing could reſtrain the furious ſpirits of the young men, who were determined to take ſatisfaction for the loſs of their relations. The emiſſaries of France among them

The cauſe of the Cherokee war.

them added fuel to the flame, by telling them that the Engliſh intended to kill every man of them, and make ſlaves of their wives and children. They inſtigated them to bloodſhed, and for that purpoſe furniſhed them with arms and ammunition. The ſcattered families on the frontiers of Carolina lay much expoſed to ſcalping parties of theſe ſavages, who commonly make no diſtinction of age or ſex, but pour their vengeance indiſcriminately on the innocent and guilty.

The garriſon of Fort Loudon, conſiſting of about two hundred men, under the command of Captains Demerè and Stuart, firſt diſcovered the ill humour in which the Cherokee warriors returned from the northern expedition. The ſoldiers, as uſual, making excurſions into the woods, to hunt for freſh proviſions, were attacked by them, and ſome of them were killed. From this time ſuch dangers threatened the garriſon, that every one was confined within the ſmall boundaries of the fort. All communication with the diſtant ſettlement from which they received ſupplies being cut off, and the ſoldiers being but poorly provided, had no other proſpects left but thoſe of famine or death. Parties of young Indians took the field, and, ruſhing down among the ſettlements, murdered and ſcalped a number of people on the frontiers.

Governor Lyttleton prepares to march againſt them.

The commanding officer at Fort Prince George having received intelligence of thoſe acts of hoſtility, diſpatched a meſſenger to Charleſtown to inform Governor Lyttleton that the Cherokees were gone to war, and that it would be neceſſary ſpeedily to warn

warn the people of their danger. In conſequence of which orders were given to the commanders of the militia immediately to collect their men, and ſtand in a poſture of defence, while the Governor was making preparations in Charleſtown for marching againſt them, in order to give a ſpeedy check to their progreſs. Parties of the independent companies were brought to Charleſtown for this purpoſe. The militia of the country had orders to rendezvous at Congarees, where the Governor, with ſuch a force as he could procure from the lower parts, reſolved to join them, and march to the relief of the frontier ſettlements.

The Cherokees ſue for peace.

No ſooner had the Cherokees heard of theſe warlike preparations at Charleſtown, than thirty-two of their chiefs ſet out for that place, in order to ſettle all differences, and prevent if poſſible a war with the Carolineans. For although they could not reſtrain ſome of their young men from acts of violence, yet the nation in general was ſtill inclined to friendſhip and peace. As they arrived at Charleſtown before the Governor had ſet out on the intended expedition, a council was called, and the chiefs being ſent for, Mr. Lyttleton, among other things, told them, "That he was well acquainted with all the acts of hoſtility of which their people had been guilty, and likewiſe thoſe they intended againſt the Engliſh, and enumerated ſome of them; then he added, That he would ſoon be in their country, where he would let them know his demands, and the ſatisfaction he required, which he would certainly take if they refuſed it. As they had come to Charleſtown to treat with him as friends, they ſhould go home in ſafety, and not a hair of their head ſhould be touched; but

as he had many warriors in arms in different parts of the province, he could not be anſwerable for what might happen to them unleſs they marched along with his army." After this ſpeech Occonoſtota, who was diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Great Warrior of the Cherokee nation, began to ſpeak by way of reply; but the Governor being determined that nothing ſhould prevent his military expedition, declared, he would hear no talk he had to make, neither in vindication of his nation, nor any propoſals with regard to peace. Lieutenant-Governor Bull, who was better acquainted with the manners of Indians, and the dangers to which the province would be expoſed from a war with them, urged the neceſſity of hearing the Great Warrior, and the happy conſequences of an agreement before more blood was ſpilt. But Mr. Lyttleton remained inflexible, and put an end to the conference; with which behaviour the chiefs, however, were not a little diſpleaſed. For as they had travelled ſo far to obtain peace, and, after all, to be not only denied liberty to ſpeak, but alſo to be diſappointed with reſpect to the chief end of their journey, chagrined them much, and created many uneaſy fears and ſuſpicions.

Governor Lyttleton marches againſt the Cherokees.

A FEW days after holding this conference with the chieftains the governor ſet out for Congarees, the place of general rendezvous for the militia, and about one hundred and forty miles diſtant from Charleſtown, where he muſtered in all about one thouſand four hundred men. To this place the Cherokees marched along with the army, and were to appearance contented, but in reality burning with fury and reſentment. When the army moved from the Congarees, the chieftains, very unexpectedly, were all made priſon-

ers, and, to prevent their eſcape to the nation, a captain's guard was mounted over them, and in this manner they were obliged to march to Fort Prince George. Being not only deprived of their liberty, which an Indian values above all things, but alſo compelled to accompany an enemy going againſt their families and friends, they could now no longer conceal their reſentment. They turned exceedingly ſullen, and ſhewed that they were ſtung to the heart by ſuch baſe treatment. The breach of promiſe an Indian holds an atrocious crime. To requite good intended with real evil, they with reaſon deemed an unpardonable injury. But what compleated the ill uſage, the thirty-two Indians, upon the arrival of the army at Fort Prince George, were all ſhut up in a hut ſcarcely ſufficient for the accommodation of ſix ſoldiers, where they ſpent their time in concerting plots for obtaining their liberty, and ſatisfaction for the injuries done them.

Holds a congreſs at Fort Prince George.

Governor Lyttleton's little army being not only ill armed and diſciplined, but alſo diſcontented and mutinous, he therefore judged it dangerous to proceed farther into the enemy's country. Having beforehand ſent for Attakullakulla, who was eſteemed both the wiſeſt man of the nation and the moſt ſteady friend of the Engliſh, to meet him at Fort Prince George, this warrior haſtened to his camp from an excurſion againſt the French, in which he had taken ſome priſoners, one of whom he preſented to the Governor. Mr. Lyttleton knew, that, for obtaining a re-eſtabliſhment of peace, there was not a man in the whole nation better diſpoſed to aſſiſt him than this old warrior, though it was obſerved that he cautiouſly

cautiouſly avoided making any offer of ſatisfaction. But ſo ſmall was his influence among the Cherokees at this time, that they conſidered him as no better than an old woman on account of his attachment to their Engliſh enemies, and his averſion from going to war againſt them.

About the 18th of December, 1759, the Governor held a congreſs with this warrior, and by an interpreter ſpoke to him to the following effect: "You told me yeſterday that you had a good talk to make, and expected the ſame from me. You know it is the will of the great King that his ſubjects and your people ſhould live together in friendſhip, and you have ſaid you deſire not to break the chain thereof. It is a chain which our moſt gracious ſovereign holds at one end, and you hold at the other. You know that, in order to keep this chain from contracting ruſt, and hinder it from being broken, it was neceſſary certain conditions ſhould be made; and as all acts of the great king are kept till time ſhall be no more, ſo I now have in my hand thoſe very conditions made with you and your people. It was agreed, that if an Indian ſhould kill an Engliſhman, he ſhall be delivered up to be puniſhed as the law requires. This was the ancient talk of our fathers and your fathers, and when King George took your nation under his protection he ſo ordered it for the future. This treaty has been ſince renewed by ſeveral of our King's governors of this province from time to time. It was the mercy of the great King that this way of reſtitution ſhould be eſtabliſhed, to prevent a war which might deſtroy your nation; whereas,

His ſpeech to Attakullakulla.

" whereas, at any time, by delivering up of the " guilty perſon, the innocent might eſcape, and your " people be ſuffered to live in friendſhip with ours.

" In the month of November, 1758, ſix deputies " from your nation came to Charleſtown, to make " up all differences between our people and yours. " They did then engage to obſerve the words of the " treaty I have here, and which you know are the " ſame with thoſe formerly made by the great King. " They received a large quantity of goods as a " full compenſation for the injuries done them by " white people, and did ſolemnly promiſe to conti- " nue in ſtrict friendſhip with all the King's ſub- " jects. Notwithſtanding which they went to Sta- " tiquo under Moytoy and killed many white men, " though no provocation had been given them. " Thereupon I demanded ſatisfaction, according to " the words of the great King, but they have given " me none. As King George loves mercy better " than war, I was willing to wait; and while our " people lay quietly in their houſes, the Indians came, " killed and ſcalped them. Laſt of all they put to " death three men in the Upper nation, and drove " our people, who lived in their towns to furniſh " them with goods, into the forts. As you know " that your people have been guilty of all theſe " crimes, and many more, I expected you would not " only come down with a good talk, but alſo would " have offered ſatisfaction for them. I am now come " here with a great number of warriors, to take that " ſatisfaction I have more than once demanded. " Perhaps ſome of you thought, that, as our people " put up with ſuch injuries, they were apprehenſive

" of

" of your power; but you ſhall now ſee that this
" was owing to their patience, and not to their want
" of reſolution. You know well the ſtrength of our
" province, and that one third part of it is ſufficient to
" deſtroy your nation. Beſides, the white people in
" all the provinces are brothers, and linked together:
" we come not alone againſt you becauſe we have
" ſuffered, for the Virginians and North Carolineans
" are prepared to march againſt you, unleſs ſatisfac-
" tion be given me. My brother the Governor of
" Georgia will alſo prevent any ammunition from
" coming to you. Some time ago you ſent to Vir-
" ginia, offering to trade with that province, and
" goods were on their way to you which I have ſtopt,
" and they ſhall not proceed hither until I ſend di-
" rections for them. It is not neceſſary for me to
" ſay more to you, until you make ſatisfaction for kil-
" ling the white people.

" ATTAKULLAKULLA, you have been in England,
" and ſeen the power of the great King, and the
" number of his warriors. You alſo know, that,
" during theſe five years and more, we have been at
" war with the French, who were once numerous
" over all parts of America. You know I diſdain to
" tell you a falſhood, and I will now inform you
" what ſucceſs our army has had. Some of the
" laſt ſhips that arrived at Charleſtown brought
" me a good deal of news. Our fleet has ta-
" ken many ſhips of war belonging to the French.
" A meſſenger has arrived with an account that
" the great city of Quebec is reduced, as alſo, that
" the warriors of the great King have taken all the
" forts on the lakes and upon the Ohio, and beat

" down

" down all things in their way, as a hurricane would
" have done in its paſſage. The Indians in thoſe
" parts, fearing his power, have made their peace
" with the great King. The Delawares, Shawaneſe,
" and all of them that live near Fort Duqueſne, have
" deſired to be in friendſhip with us. The Choctaws
" alſo beg to be received under the King's protection
" by his beloved man Mr. Aitken, upon which a
" great number of traders are gone into their coun-
" try with all ſorts of goods. If you will not believe
" what I ſay, and imagine that the French are able
" to ſupply you with the neceſſaries which you want,
" you will be deceived, for they themſelves are ſtar-
" ving, and ſo much undone that they cannot fur-
" niſh a blanket or a gun to the Choctaws, much
" leſs to you, who are removed at ſo great a diſtance
" from them.

" THESE things I have mentioned to ſhow you
" that the great King will not ſuffer his people to be
" deſtroyed without ſatisfaction, and to let you know
" the people of this province are determined to have
" it. What I ſay is with a merciful intention. If I
" make war with you, you will ſuffer for your raſh-
" neſs; your men will be deſtroyed, and your wo-
" men and children carried into captivity. What
" few neceſſaries you now have will ſoon be done,
" and you will get no more. But if you give the
" ſatisfaction I ſhall aſk, the trade will be again
" opened with you, and all things go right. I
" have twice given you a liſt of the murderers; I
" will now tell you there are twenty-four men of
" your nation whom I demand to be delivered up
" to me, to be put to death, or otherwiſe diſpoſed

" of

" of as I ſhall think fit. Your people have killed
" that number of ours and more, therefore it is
" the leaſt I will accept of. I ſhall give you till
" to-morrow morning to conſider of it, and then I
" ſhall expect your anſwer. You know beſt the In-
" dians concerned; ſeveral gangs at different times
" have been out, and I expect the twenty-four you
" ſhall deliver up will be thoſe who have committed
" the murders."

To this long ſpeech Attakullakulla replied in words to the following effect: " That he remembered the " treaties mentioned, as he had a ſhare in making " them: He owned the kindneſs of the province of " South Carolina, but complained much of the bad " treatment his countrymen had received in Virginia, " which, he ſaid, was the immediate cauſe of our " preſent miſunderſtanding: That he had always been " the firm friend of the Engliſh, of which he hoped " his late fatiguing march againſt their enemies the " French was a ſufficient proof: That he would ever " continue ſuch, and would uſe all the influence he " had to perſuade his countrymen to give the Gover- " nor the ſatisfaction he demanded, though he belie- " ved it neither would nor could be complied with, " as they had no coercive authority one over another: " He deſired the Governor to releaſe ſome of the " head men then confined in the fort to aſſiſt him; " and added, that he was pleaſed to hear of the ſuc- " ceſſes of his brothers the Engliſh, but could not " help mentioning, that they ſhewed more reſent- " ment againſt the Cherokees than they had uſed to " other nations that had diſobliged them; that he " remembered ſome years ago ſeveral white people " belong-

Attakullakulla's anſwer.

" belonging to Carolina were killed by the Choctaws, " for whom no ſatisfaction had either been given or " demanded."

AGREEABLE to the requeſt of Attakullakulla, the Governor releaſed Occonoſtota, Fiſtoe the chief man of Keowee town, and the head warrior of Eſtaloe, who next day delivered up two Indians, whom Mr. Lyttleton ordered to be put in irons. After which all the Cherokees preſent, who knew their connections to be weak, being alarmed, fled out of the way, ſo that it was impoſſible to complete the number demanded. Attakullakulla, being then convinced that peace could not be obtained on ſuch terms as the Governor required, reſolved to go home and patiently wait the event; but no ſooner was Mr. Lyttleton made acquainted with his departure, than he diſpatched a meſſenger after him to bring him back to his camp; and being deſirous of finiſhing the campaign with as much credit as poſſible, immediately on his return began to treat of peace. Accordingly a treaty was drawn up and ſigned by the Governor and ſix of the head men; in which it was agreed, that thoſe twenty-two chieftains of the Cherokees ſhould be kept as hoſtages confined in the fort, until the ſame number of Indians guilty of murder be delivered up to the commander in chief of the province; that trade ſhould be opened and carried on as uſual; that the Cherokees ſhould kill, or take every Frenchman priſoner, who ſhould preſume to come into their nation during the continuance of the war; and that they ſhould hold no intercourſe with the enemies of Great Britain, but ſhould apprehend every perſon, white or red, found among them, that may be endeavouring to ſet the Engliſh and Cherokees

A treaty concluded with ſix chiefs.

kees at variance, and interrupt the friendſhip and peace eſtabliſhed between them.

After having concluded this treaty with the Cherokees, the Governor reſolved to return to Charleſtown. But whether the Indians who put their mark to it underſtood the articles of agreement or not, we cannot pretend to affirm; one thing is certain, that few or none of the nation afterward paid the ſmalleſt regard to it. The treacherous act of confining their chiefs, againſt whom no charge could be brought, and who had travelled ſeveral hundred miles in order to obtain peace for their nation, had made a ſtrong impreſſion on their minds, but particularly on that of Occonoſtota, who breathed nothing but fury and vengeance againſt ſuch falſe friends. Inſtead of permitting them to return home without hurting a hair of their head, as the Governor promiſed in Charleſtown, they were cloſe confined in a miſerable hut, having permiſſion neither to ſee their friends nor even the light of day. It was ſaid they were kept only as hoſtages, until the number of criminals he demanded was completed by their nation; but if they were robbed of their liberty, it was of little conſequence to them under what denomination they were confined. It was ſaid to be done by the conſent of the nation, as ſix of its chiefs had ſigned the articles of peace; but in whatever light we view the act, it appears to be one of thoſe baſe and unjuſtifiable advantages which policy and craft commonly take of the weakneſs and ſimplicity of more unfortunate neighbours; and nothing leſs could have been expected, than that theſe wild and independent warriors would reſent ſuch baſe and unmerited uſage on the firſt opportunity that offered.

The Governor returns to Charlestown.

SCARCELY had Governor Lyttleton concluded the treaty of Fort Prince George when the ſmall-pox, which was raging in an adjacent Indian town, broke out in his camp. As few of his little army had ever gone through that diſtemper, and as the ſurgeons were totally unprovided for ſuch an accident, his men were ſtruck with terror, and in great haſte returned to the ſettlements, cautiouſly avoiding all intercourſe one with another, and ſuffering much from hunger and fatigue by the way. The Governor followed them, and arrived in Charleſtown about the beginning of the year 1760. Though not a drop of blood had been ſpilt during the expedition, he was received like a conqueror, with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy. Addreſſes the moſt flattering were preſented to him by the different ſocieties and profeſſions, and bone-fires and illuminations teſtified the high ſenſe the inhabitants entertained of his merit and ſervices, and the happy conſequences which they believed would reſult from his expedition.

HOWEVER, thoſe rejoicings on account of the peace were ſcarcely over, when the news arrived that freſh hoſtilities had been committed, and the Governor was informed that the Cherokees had killed fourteen men within a mile of Fort Prince George. The Indians had contracted an invincible antipathy to Captain Coytmore, the officer whom Mr. Lyttleton had left commander of that fort. The treatment they had received at Charleſtown, but eſpecially the impriſonment of their chiefs, had now converted their former deſire of peace into the bittereſt rage for war. Occonoſtota, a chieftain of great influence, had become a moſt implacable and vindictive enemy to Carolina,

rolina, and determined to repay treachery with treachery. Having gathered a ſtrong party of Cherokees, he ſurrounded Fort Prince George, and compelled the garriſon to keep within their works; but finding that he could make no impreſſion on the fort, nor oblige the commander to ſurrender, he contrived the following ſtratagem for the relief of his countrymen confined in it.

The treaty of peace broken.

As that country was every where covered with woods, he placed a party of ſavages in a dark thicket by the river ſide, and then ſent an Indian woman, whom he knew to be always welcome at the fort, to inform the commander that he had ſomething of conſequence to communicate to him, and would be glad to ſpeak with him at the river ſide. Captain Coytmore imprudently conſented, and without any ſuſpicions of danger walked down towards the river, accompanied by Lieutenants Bell and Foſter. Occonoſtota appearing on the oppoſite ſide, told him he was going to Charleſtown to procure a releaſe of the priſoners, and would be glad of a white man to accompany him as a ſafeguard; and, the better to cover his dark deſign, had a bridle in his hand, and added, he would go and hunt for a horſe to him. The captain replied, that he ſhould have a guard, and wiſhed he might find a horſe, as the journey was very long. Upon which the Indian, turning quickly about, ſwung the bridle thrice round his head, as a ſignal to the ſavages placed in ambuſh, who inſtantly fired on the officers, ſhot the captain dead on the ſpot, and wounded the other two. In conſequence of which orders were given to put the hoſtages in irons, to prevent any farther danger from them. But while the ſoldiers were

Occonoſtota's ſtratagem for killing the officer of the fort.

attempting to execute their orders, the Indians ſtabbed the firſt man who lad hold of them with a knife, and wounded two more; upon which the garriſon, exaſperated to the higheſt degree, fell on the unfortunate hoſtages, and butchered them in a manner too ſhocking to relate.

The war becomes general.

THERE were few men in the Cherokee nation that did not loſe a friend or a relation by this maſſacre, and therefore with one voice all immediately declared for war. The leaders in every town ſeized the hatchet, telling their followers that the ſpirits of murdered brothers were flying around them, and calling out for vengeance on their enemies. From the different towns large parties of warriors took the field, painted in the moſt formidable manner, and arrayed with all their inſtruments of death. All ſung the ſong of war, and burning with impatience to imbrue their hands in the blood of their enemies, ruſhed down among innocent and defenceleſs families on the frontiers of Carolina, where men, women and children, without diſtinction, fell a ſacrifice to their mercileſs fury. Such as fled to the woods, and eſcaped the ſcalping-knife, periſhed with hunger; and thoſe whom they made priſoners were carried into the wilderneſs, where they ſuffered inexpreſſible hardſhips. Every day brought freſh accounts to the capital of their ravages, murders and deſolations. But while the back ſettlers impatiently looked to their Governor for relief, the ſmall-pox raged to ſuch a degree in town, that few of the militia could be prevailed on to leave their diſtreſſed families to ſerve the public. In this extremity an expreſs was ſent to General Amherſt, the commander in chief in America, acquainting him with

with the deplorable ſituation of the province, and imploring his aſſiſtance in the moſt preſſing terms. Accordingly a battalion of Highlanders, and four companies of the Royal Scots, under the command of Colonel Montgomery, now Earl of Eglinton, were ordered immediately to embark, and ſail for the relief of Carolina.

In the mean time William Lyttleton being appointed Governor of Jamaica, the charge of the province devolved on William Bull, a man of great integrity and erudition. Application was made to the neighbouring provinces of North Carolina and Virginia for relief, and ſeven troops of rangers were raiſed to patrole the frontiers, and prevent the ſavages from penetrating farther down among the ſettlements. A conſiderable ſum was voted for preſents to ſuch of the Creeks, Chickeſaws and Catabaws as ſhould join the province and go to war againſt the Cherokees. Proviſions were ſent to the families that had eſcaped to Auguſta and Fort Moore, and the beſt preparations poſſible made for chaſtiſing their enemy, ſo ſoon as the regulars coming from New York ſhould arrive in the province.

Before the end of April, 1760, Colonel Montgomery landed in Carolina, and encamped at Monk's Corner. Great was the joy of the province upon the arrival of this gallant officer; but as the conqueſt of Canada was the grand object of this year's campaign in America, he had orders to ſtrike a ſudden blow for the relief of Carolina, and return to head quarters at Albany without loſs of time. Nothing was therefore omitted that was judged neceſſary to forward the

Colonel Montgomery arrives.

the expedition. Several gentlemen of fortune, excited by a laudable zeal for the ſafety of their country, formed themſelves into a company of volunteers, and joined the army. The whole force of the province was collected, and ordered to rendezvous at Congarees. Waggons, carts and horſes were impreſſed for the ſervice of his Majeſty, and the coloniſts flattered themſelves with the hopes that they would now be able to puniſh the inſolence of their barbarous enemies.

And marches againſt the Cherokees.

A FEW weeks after his arrival Colonel Montgomery marched to the Congarees, where he was joined by the internal ſtrength of the province, and immediately ſet out for the Cherokee country. For a guide he was provided with an half-blooded Indian, who was well acquainted with the roads through the woods, and the paſſages through the rivers. Having little time allowed him, his march was uncommonly ſpirited and expeditious. After reaching a place called Twelve-mile River, he encamped on an advantageous ground, and marched with a party of his men in the night to ſurprize Eſtatoe, an Indian town about twenty miles from his camp. The firſt noiſe he heard by the way was the barking of a dog before his men, where he was informed there was an Indian town called Little Keowee, which he ordered the light infantry to ſurround, and, except women and children, to put every Indian in it to the ſword. Having done this piece of ſervice, he proceeded to Eſtatoe, which he found abandoned by all the ſavages, excepting a few who had not had time to make their eſcape. This town, which conſiſted of at leaſt two hundred houſes, and was well provided with corn, hogs, poultry, and ammunition, he reduced to aſhes. Sugar Town, and every other

ſettlement

ſettlement in the lower nation, afterwards ſhared the ſame fate. The ſurprize to every one of them was nearly equal; for as the army darted upon them like lightning, the ſavages could ſcarcely ſave themſelves, far leſs any little property that they had. In theſe lower towns about ſixty Indians were killed and forty made priſoners, and the reſt driven to ſeek for ſhelter among the mountains. Having finiſhed his buſineſs among theſe lower ſettlements with the ſmall loſs of three or four men, he then marched to the relief of Fort Prince George, which had been for ſome time inveſted by ſavages, inſomuch that no ſoldier durſt venture beyond the bounds of the fort, and where the garriſon was in diſtreſs, not for the want of proviſions, but of wood to prepare them.

WHILE the army reſted at Fort Prince George, Edmund Atkin, agent for Indian affairs, diſpatched two Indian chiefs to the middle ſettlements, to inform the Cherokees that by ſuing for peace they might obtain it, as the former friends and allies of Britain. At the ſame time he ſent a meſſenger to Fort Loudon, requeſting Captains Demerè and Stuart, the commanding officers at that place, to uſe their beſt endeavours for obtaining peace with the Cherokees in the upper towns. Colonel Montgomery finding that the ſavages were as yet diſpoſed to liſten to no terms of accommodation, determined to carry the chaſtiſement a little farther. Diſmal was the wilderneſs into which he entered, and many were the hardſhips and dangers he had to encounter, from dark thickets, rugged paths, and narrow paſſes; in which a ſmall body of men, properly poſted, might haraſs and tire out the braveſt army that ever took the field. Having

on all hands ſuſpicious grounds, he found occaſion for conſtant vigilance and circumſpection. While he was piercing through the thick foreſt he had numberleſs difficulties to ſurmount, particularly from rivers fordable only at one place, and overlooked by high banks on each ſide, where an enemy might attack him with advantage, and retreat with ſafety. When he had advanced within five miles of Etchoe, the neareſt town in the middle ſettlements, he found there a low valley, covered ſo thick with buſhes that the ſoldiers could ſcarcely ſee three yards before them, and in the middle of which there was a muddy river, with ſteep clay banks. Through this dark place, where it was impoſſible for any number of men to act together, the army muſt neceſſarily march; and therefore Captain Moriſon, who commanded a company of rangers, well acquainted with the woods, had orders to advance and ſcour the thicket. He had ſcarcely entered it, when a number of ſavages ſprung from their lurking den, and firing on them, killed the captain and wounded ſeveral of his party. Upon which the light infantry and grenadiers were ordered to advance and charge the inviſible enemy, which they did with great courage and alacrity. A heavy fire then began on both ſides, and during ſome time the ſoldiers could only diſcover the places where the ſavages were hid by the report of their guns. Colonel Montgomery finding that the number of Indians that guarded this place was great, and that they were determined obſtinately to diſpute it, ordered the Royal Scots, who were in the rear, to advance between the ſavages and a riſing ground on the right, while the Highlanders marched towards the left to ſuſtain the light infantry and grenadiers. The woods now reſounded with horrible ſhouts and

yells, but theſe, inſtead of intimidating the troops, ſeemed rather to inſpire them with double firmneſs and reſolution. At length the ſavages gave way, and in their retreat falling in with the Royal Scots, ſuffered conſiderably before they got out of their reach. By this time the Royals being in the front and the Highlanders in the rear, the enemy ſtretched away and took poſſeſſion of a hill, ſeemingly diſpoſed to keep at a diſtance, and always retreating as the army advanced. Colonel Montgomery perceiving that they kept aloof, gave orders to the line to face about, and march directly for the town of Etchoe. The enemy no ſooner obſerved this movement, than they got behind the hill, and ran to alarm their wives and children. During the action, which laſted above an hour, Colonel Montgomery, who made ſeveral narrow eſcapes, had twenty men killed, and ſeventy-ſix wounded. What number the enemy loſt is uncertain, but ſome places were diſcovered into which they had thrown ſeveral of their ſlain, from which it was conjectured that they muſt have loſt a great number, as it is a cuſtom among them to carry their dead off the field. Upon viewing the ground, all were aſtoniſhed to ſee with what judgment and ſkill they had choſen it. Scarcely could the moſt experienced officer have fixed upon a ſpot more advantageous for way-laying and attacking an enemy, according to the method of fighting practiſed among the Indian nations.

Chaſtiſes them near Etchoe.

This action, though it terminated much in favour of the Britiſh army, had nevertheleſs reduced it to ſuch a ſituation as made it very imprudent, if not altogether impracticable, to penetrate farther into thoſe

woods. The repulſe was far from being deciſive, for the enemy had only retired from one to another advantageous ſituation, in order to renew their attack when the army ſhould again advance. Humanity would not ſuffer the commander to leave ſo many wounded men expoſed to the vengeance of ſavages, without any ſtrong-hold in which he might lodge them, or ſome detachment, which he could not ſpare, to protect them. Should he proceed farther, he ſaw plainly that he muſt expect frequent ſkirmiſhes, which would increaſe the number, and the burning of ſo many Indian towns would be a poor compenſation for the great riſque and perhaps wanton ſacrifice of ſo many valuable lives. To furniſh horſes for the men already wounded obliged him to throw ſo many bags of flour into the river, and what remained was no more than ſufficient for his army during their return to Fort Prince George. Orders were therefore given for a retreat, which was made with great regularity, although the enemy continued hovering around them, and annoying them to the utmoſt of their power. A large train of wounded men was brought above ſixty miles through a hazardous country in ſafety, for which no ſmall ſhare of honour and praiſe was due to the officer that conducted the retreat. Never did men endure greater hardſhips and fatigues with fewer complaints than this little army during the expedition. Such confidence did they repoſe in their leader, that they ſeemed to deſpiſe all difficulties and dangers which he ſhared along with them in the ſervice of their King and country.

And returns to Fort Prince George.

AFTER

AFTER Colonel Montgomery had returned to the settlements, and was preparing to embark for New York, agreeable to his orders from General Amherſt, the Carolineans were again thrown under the moſt dreadful apprehenſions from the dangers which hung over the province. This appears from the following addreſs of the General Aſſembly, preſented to Lieutenant-Governor Bull on the 11th of July, 1760. The conſternation of the inhabitants from Indians.

"We, his Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, "the Commons Houſe of Aſſembly of this province, "return your Honour our ſincere thanks for the ad- "vices you have been pleaſed to communicate to us "in the morning; and being deeply affected with the "contents of Colonel Grant's letter, which imports, "that Colonel Montgomery will ſoon embark with "his Majeſty's troops under his command to join "General Amherſt; humbly beg leave to repreſent "to your Honour, that we apprehend the province "to be in a much more dangerous ſituation at this "juncture, than it was at the time when the ſaid "troops arrived here; as the Upper Creek Indians "have ſince murdered ſeveral Engliſh traders in their "towns, and made no offer to give up the murder- "ers, or make any other ſatisfaction whatever; "whence we have the greateſt reaſon to believe they "will ſoon break out into open war. And by what "is mentioned in Colonel Grant's letter, we fear "that our implacable enemies the French have al- "ready ſpirited up and prevailed with the Choctaws "to aſſiſt the Cherokees againſt us. And notwith- "ſtanding the preſent rupture with the Cherokees "has coſt the province, in leſs than nine months, "near 50,000 pounds ſterling, yet all our endea-

" vours to raiſe a number of forces capable of pre-
" venting the Cherokees from ravaging the back ſet-
" tlements have proved ineffectual. This being the
" ſituation of the province when we had only the
" Cherokees to contend with, how deplorable then
" muſt our caſe be, ſhould Colonel Montgomery de-
" part with the King's troops under his command,
" and we have the united attacks of the Cherokees,
" Creeks and Choctaws, (the three moſt powerful
" nations of Indians on the continent), to repel, can
" be better imagined than deſcribed. Being truely
" ſenſible of your Honour's good inclinations to ren-
" der every ſervice in your power to this province,
" we unanimouſly intreat your Honour to uſe the
" moſt preſſing inſtances with Colonel Montgomery
" not to depart with the King's troops, as it may be
" attended with the moſt pernicious conſequences."
Accordingly the Lieutenant-Governor having given the Colonel the fulleſt view of thoſe extenſive dangers to which the province after his departure would be expoſed, prevailed with him to leave four companies of the royal regiment, under the command of Major Frederick Hamilton, for covering the frontiers, while he embarked with the battalion of Highlanders, and ſailed for New York.

Great diſtreſs of the garriſon at Fort Loudon.

In the mean time the diſtant garriſon of Fort Loudon, conſiſting of two hundred men, was reduced to the dreadful alternative of periſhing by hunger or ſubmitting to the mercy of the enraged Cherokees. The Governor having information that the Virginians had undertaken to relieve it, for a while ſeemed ſatisfied, and anxiouſly waited to hear the news of that happy event. But the Virginians were equally ill

ill qualified with their neighbours of Carolina to ſend them any aſſiſtance. So remote was the fort from every ſettlement, and ſo difficult was it to march an army through the barren wilderneſs, where the various thickets were lined with enemies, and to carry at the ſame time ſufficient ſupplies along with them, that the Virginians had dropped all thoughts of the attempt. Proviſions being entirely exhauſted at Fort Loudon, the garriſon was reduced to the moſt deplorable ſituation. For a whole month they had no other ſubſiſtence but the fleſh of lean horſes and dogs, and a ſmall ſupply of Indian beans, which ſome friendly Cherokee women procured for them by ſtealth. Long had the officers endeavoured to animate and encourage the men with the hopes of relief; but now being blockaded night and day by the enemy, and having no reſource left, they threatened to leave the fort, and die at once by the hands of ſavages, rather than periſh ſlowly by famine. In this extremity the commander was obliged to call a council of war, to conſider what was proper to be done; when the officers were all of opinion that it was impoſſible to hold out any longer, and therefore agreed to ſurrender the fort to the Cherokees on the beſt terms that could be obtained from them. For this purpoſe Captain Stuart, an officer of great ſagacity and addreſs, and much beloved by all the Indians that remained in the Britiſh intereſt, procured leave to go to Chotè, one of the principal towns in the neighbourhood, where he obtained the following terms of capitulation, which were ſigned by the commanding officer and two of the Cherokee chiefs. "That the garriſon of Fort Loudon march out "with their arms and drums, each ſoldier having as "much powder and ball as their officer ſhall think ne- "ceſſary

The terms obtained for the garriſon.

"ceſſary for their march, and all the baggage they "may chuſe to carry: That the garriſon be permitted "to march to Virginia, or Fort Prince George, as the "commanding officer ſhall think proper, unmoleſted; "and that a number of Indians be appointed to eſ-"cort them, and hunt for proviſions during their "march: That ſuch ſoldiers as are lame, or by ſick-"neſs diſabled from marching, be received into the "Indian towns, and kindly uſed until they recover, "and then be allowed to return to Fort Prince "George: That the Indians do provide for the gar-"riſon as many horſes as they conveniently can for "their march, agreeing with the officers and ſoldiers "for payment: That the fort great guns, powder, "ball, and ſpare arms, be delivered to the Indians "without fraud or further delay, on the day appoint-"ed for the march of the troops."

AGREEABLE to thoſe terms ſtipulated, the garriſon delivered up the fort, and marched out with their arms, accompanied by Occonoſtota, Judd's friend, the prince of Chotè, and ſeveral other Indians, and that day went fifteen miles on their way to Fort Prince George. At night they encamped on a plain about two miles from Taliquo, an Indian town, when all their attendants, upon one pretence or another, left them; which the officers conſidered as no good ſign, and therefore placed a ſtrict guard round their camp. During the night they remained unmoleſted, but next morning about break of day a ſoldier from an out-poſt came running in, and informed them that he ſaw a vaſt number of Indians, armed, and painted in the moſt dreadful manner, creeping

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ing among the buſhes, and advancing in order to ſurround them. Scarcely had the officer time to order his men to ſtand to their arms, when the ſavages poured in upon them a heavy fire from different quarters, accompanied with the moſt hideous yells, which ſtruck a panic into the ſoldiers, who were ſo much enfeebled and diſpirited that they were incapable of making any effectual reſiſtance. Captain Demerè, with three other officers, and about twenty-ſix private men, fell at the firſt onſet. Some fled into the woods, and were afterwards taken priſoners and confined among the towns in the valley. Captain Stuart, and thoſe that remained, were ſeized, pinioned, and brought back to Fort Loudon. No ſooner had Attakullakulla heard that his friend Mr. Stuart had eſcaped, than he haſtened to the fort, and purchaſed him from the Indian that took him, giving him his rifle, clothes, and all he could command, by way of ranſom. He then took poſſeſſion of Captain Demerè's houſe, where he kept his priſoner as one of his family, and freely ſhared with him the little proviſions his table afforded, until a fair opportunity ſhould offer for reſcuing him from their hands; but the poor ſoldiers were kept in a miſerable ſtate of captivity for ſome time, and then redeemed by the province at a great expence.

Treacherouſly broken by the ſavages.

During the time theſe priſoners were confined at Fort Loudon, Occonoſtota formed a deſign of attacking Fort Prince George, and for this purpoſe diſpatched a meſſenger to the ſettlements in the valley, requeſting all the warriors there to join him at Stickoey old town. By accident a diſcovery was made of ten bags

bags of powder, and ball in proportion, which the officers had ſecretly buried in the fort, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. This diſcovery had nearly proved fatal to Captain Stuart, and would certainly have coſt him his life, had not the interpreter had ſo much preſence of mind as to aſſure the enemy that theſe warlike ſtores had been concealed without his knowledge or conſent. The Indians having now abundance of ammunition for the ſiege, a council was called at Chotè, to which the captain was brought, and put in mind of the obligations he lay under to them for ſparing his life; and as they had reſolved to carry ſix cannon and two cohorns with them againſt Fort Prince George, to be managed by men under his command, they told him he muſt go and write ſuch letters to the commandant as they ſhould dictate to him. They informed him at the ſame time, that if that officer ſhould refuſe to ſurrender, they were determined to burn the priſoners one after another before his face, and try if he could be ſo obſtinate as to hold out while he ſaw his friends expiring in the flames. Captain Stuart was much alarmed at his ſituation, and from that moment reſolved to make his eſcape or periſh in the attempt. His deſign he privately communicated to Attakullakulla, and told him how uneaſy he was at the thoughts of being compelled to bear arms againſt his countrymen. He acknowledged that he had always been a brother, and hoped he would aſſiſt him to get out of his preſent perilous circumſtances. The old warrior, taking him by the hand, told him he was his friend, he had already given one proof of his regard, and intended to give another ſo ſoon as his brother ſhould return and help him to concert the

A propoſal for attacking Fort Prince George.

meaſure. He ſaid he was well apprized of the ill deſigns of his countrymen, and ſhould he go and perſuade the garriſon of Fort Prince George to do as he had done, what could he expect but that they ſhould ſhare the ſame diſmal fate. Strong and uncultivated minds carry their friendſhip, as well as their enmity, to an aſtoniſhing pitch. Among ſavages family friendſhip is a national virtue, and civilized mortals may bluſh when they conſider how much barbarians have often ſurpaſſed them in the practice of it. The inſtance I am going to relate is as ſingular and memorable as many that have been recorded in the annals of paſt ages.

ATTAKULLAKULLA claimed Captain Stuart as his priſoner, and had reſolved to deliver him from danger, and for this purpoſe there was no time to be loſt. Accordingly he gave out among his countrymen that he intended to go a-hunting for a few days, and carry his priſoner along with him to eat veniſon, of which he declared he was exceedingly fond. At the ſame time the Captain went through among his ſoldiers, telling them that they could never expect to be ranſomed by the province, if they gave the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance to the Indians againſt Fort Prince George. Having ſettled all matters, they ſet out on their journey, accompanied by the warrior's wife, his brother, and two ſoldiers, who were the only perſons in the garriſon that knew how to convey great guns through the woods. For proviſions they depended on what they might kill by the way. The diſtance to the frontier ſettlements was great, and the utmoſt expedition neceſſary to prevent any ſurprize from Indians purſuing them. Nine days and

Captain Stuart eſcapes to Virginia.

nights did they travel through a dreary wilderneſs, ſhaping their courſe by the light of the ſun and moon for Virginia, and traverſing many hills, valleys and paths that had never been croſſed before but by ſavages and wild beaſts. On the tenth they arrived at the banks of Holſton's river, where they fortunately fell in with a party of three hundred men, ſent out by Colonel Bird for the relief of ſuch ſoldiers as might make their eſcape that way from Fort Loudon. On the fourteenth day the Captain reached Colonel Bird's camp on the frontiers of Virginia, where having loaded his faithful friend with preſents and proviſions, he ſent him back to protect the unhappy priſoners till they ſhould be ranſomed, and to exert his influence among the Cherokees for the reſtoration of peace.

No ſooner had Captain Stuart made his eſcape from the hands of the ſavages, than he immediately began to concert ways and means for the relief of his garriſon. An expreſs was diſpatched to Lieutenant-Governor Bull, informing him of the ſad diſaſter that had happened to the garriſon of Fort Loudon, and of the deſigns of the enemy againſt Fort Prince George. In conſequence of which orders were given to Major Thomſon, who commanded the militia on the frontiers, to throw in proviſions for ten weeks into that fort, and warn the commanding officer of his danger. At the ſame time a meſſenger was ſent to Attakullakulla, deſiring him to inform the Cherokees that Fort George was impregnable, having vaſt quantities of powder buried under ground every where around it, to blow up all enemies that ſhould attempt to come near it. Preſents of conſiderable value were

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ſent to redeem the priſoners at Fort Loudon, a few of whom had by this time made their eſcape; and afterwards not only thoſe that were confined among the towns in the valley, but alſo all that had ſurvived the hardſhips of hunger, diſeaſe and captivity in the upper towns were releaſed, and delivered up to the commanding officer at Fort Prince George.

It might now have been expected that the vindictive ſpirit of the ſavages would be ſatisfied, and that they would be diſpoſed to liſten to ſome terms of accommodation. This treacherous conduct to the ſoldiers at Fort Loudon, they intended as a ſatisfaction for the harſh treatment their relations had met with at Fort Prince George; and dearly had the province paid for the baſe impriſonment and horrid maſſacre of the chiefs at that place. Still, however, a great majority of the nation ſpurned at every offer of peace. The lower towns had all been deſtroyed by Colonel Montgomery; the warriors in the middle ſettlements had loſt many friends and relations; and ſeveral Frenchmen had crept in among the upper towns, and helped to foment their ill humour againſt Carolina. Lewis Latinac, a French officer, was among them, and proved an indefatigable inſtigator to miſchief. He perſuaded the Indians that the Engliſh had nothing leſs in view than to exterminate them from the face of the earth; and, furniſhing them with arms and ammunition, urged them on to war. At a great meeting of the nation he pulled out his hatchet, and, ſtriking it into a log of wood, called out, Who is the man that will take this up for the King of France? Saloué, the young warrior of Eſtatoe, inſtantly laid hold of it, and cried out, "I am

The war continues.

" I am for war. The ſpirits of our brothers who " have been ſlain ſtill call upon us to avenge their " death. He is no better than a woman that refuſes " to follow me." Many others ſeized the tomahawk, yet dyed in Britiſh blood, and burnt with impatience for the field.

UNDER the flattering appearance of a calm were thoſe clouds again gathering; however, Lieutenant-Governor Bull, who knew well how little Indians were to be truſted on any occaſion, kept the Royal Scots and militia on the frontiers in a poſture of defence. But finding the province ſtill under the moſt dreadful apprehenſions from their ſavage neighbours, who continued inſolent and vindictive, and ready to renew their ravages and murders, he made application a ſecond time to General Amherſt for aſſiſtance. Canada being now reduced, the commander in chief could the more eaſily ſpare a force adequate to the purpoſe intended. The brave Colonel Montgomery, who conducted the former expedition, having by this time embarked for England, the command of the Highlanders devolved on Lieutenant-Colonel James Grant, who received orders to return to the relief of Carolina. Early in the year 1761 he landed at Charleſtown, where he took up his winter quarters, until the proper ſeaſon ſhould approach for taking the field. Unfortunately during this time many of the ſoldiers, by drinking brackiſh water, were taken ſick, which afforded the inhabitants an opportunity of ſhewing their kindneſs and humanity. They conſidered themſelves, and with reaſon, under the ſtrongeſt obligations to treat men with tenderneſs, who came to protect them againſt their enemies, and therefore they brought the ſick

The Highlanders return to Carolina.

ſick ſoldiers into their houſes, and nurſed them with the greateſt care and attention.

In this campaign the province determined to exert itſelf to the utmoſt, that, in conjunction with the regular forces, a ſevere correction might be given to thoſe troubleſome ſavages. For this purpoſe a provincial regiment was raiſed, and the command of it given to Colonel Middleton. Preſents were provided for the Indian allies, and ſeveral of the Chickeſaws and Catabaws engaged to aſſiſt them againſt the Cherokees. But the Creeks, whoſe help was alſo ſtrongly ſolicited, played an artful game between the Engliſh and the French, and gave the one or the other encouragement, according to the advantages they reaped from them. All poſſible preparations were made for ſupplying the army with proviſions at different ſtages, and with ſuch carts and horſes as were thought neceſſary to the expedition. Great had been the expence which this quarrel with the Cherokees had already occaſioned; now they flattered themſelves that by one reſolute exertion more they would tire the ſavages of war, and oblige them to accept of ſuch terms of peace as they thought proper to dictate.

As all white men in the province, of the military age, were ſoldiers as well as citizens, and trained in ſome meaſure to the uſe of arms, it was no difficult matter to complete the provincial regiment. Their names being regiſtered in the liſt of militia; on every emergency they were obliged to be ready for defence, not only againſt the incurſions of Indians, but alſo againſt the inſurrection of negroes; and although

although the ſame prompt obedience to orders could not be expected from them that is neceſſary in a regular army, yet the provincials had other advantages which compenſated for that defect. They were better acquainted than ſtrangers with the woods, and the nature of that country in which their military ſervice was required. They were ſeaſoned to the climate, and had learned from experience what clothes, meat and drink were moſt proper to enable them to do their duty. In common occaſions, when the militia was called out, the men received no pay, but when employed, as in this Cherokee war, for the public defence, they were allowed the ſame pay with the King's forces.

Colonel Grant marches againſt the Cherokees.

So ſoon as the Highlanders had recovered from their ſickneſs, and were in a condition to take the field, Colonel Grant began his march for the Cherokee territories. After being joined by the Provincial regiment and Indian allies, he muſtered in all about two thouſand ſix hundred men. Having ſerved ſome years in America, and been in ſeveral engagements with Indians, he was now no ſtranger to their methods of making war. He was ſenſible how ready they were to take all advantages, by ſurprize, ſtratagem, or otherwiſe, that the nature of their country afforded them. Caution and vigilance were not only neceſſary on his part, but, to prepare an army for ſuch ſervices, the dreſs, the arms, and diſcipline, ſhould all be adapted to the nature of the country, in order to give the men every advantage, according to the Indian manner of attack. The eye ſhould be habituated to perpetual watchfulneſs, the body ſhould be clothed in green, the prevailing colour of the woods,

woods, that it may be difficult to diſtinguiſh it, and equipped in ſuch light armour as is eaſieſt managed in a thicket. The feet and legs ſhould be fortified againſt prickly briers and buſhes, and thoſe men who have been accuſtomed to hunt in the woods, being quick-ſighted, are beſt qualified for ſcouring the dark thickets, and for guards to the main body. Europeans, who are ſtrangers to ſuch things, are ill prepared for military ſervices in America. Many brave officers have ſuffered by inattention to them, and being ignorant of the peculiar circumſtances of the country, have fallen a ſacrifice to their own raſhneſs, or the numberleſs ſnares to which they are expoſed in it.

On the 27th of May, 1761, Colonel Grant arrived at Fort Prince George, and Attakullakulla, having got information that he was advancing againſt his nation with a formidable army, haſtened to his camp, to ſignify his earneſt deſire of peace. He told the Colonel that he always had been, and ever would continue to be, a firm friend to the Engliſh; that the outrages of his countrymen covered him with ſhame, and filled his heart with grief; yet nevertheleſs he would gladly interpoſe in their behalf, in order to bring about an accommodation. Often, he ſaid, had he been called an old woman by the mad young men of his nation, who delighted in war and deſpiſed his counſels. Often had he endeavoured to get the hatchet buried, and the former good correſpondence with the Carolineans eſtabliſhed. Now he was determined to ſet out for the Cherokee towns, to perſuade them to conſult their ſafety, and ſpeedily agree to terms of peace, and again and

again

again begged the Colonel to proceed no farther until he returned.

Colonel Grant, however, gave him no encouragement to expect that his requeſt could be granted; but, on the 7th of June, began his march from Fort Prince George, carrying with him proviſions to the army for thirty days. A party of ninety Indians, and thirty woodmen painted like Indians, under the command of Captain Quintine Kennedy, had orders to march in front and ſcour the woods. After them the light infantry and about fifty rangers, conſiſting in all of about two hundred men, followed, by whoſe vigilance and activity the commander imagined that the main body of the army might be kept tolerably quiet and ſecure. For three days he made forced marches, in order to get over two narrow and dangerous defiles, which he accompliſhed without a ſhot from the enemy, but which might have coſt him dear, had they been properly guarded and warmly diſputed. On the day following he found ſuſpicious ground on all hands, and therefore orders were given for the firſt time to load and prepare for action, and the guards to march ſlowly forward, doubling their vigilance and circumſpection. As they frequently ſpied Indians around them, all were convinced that they ſhould that day have an engagement. At length, having advanced near to the place where Colonel Montgomery was attacked the year before, the Indian allies in the van-guard, about eight in the morning, obſerved a large body of Cherokees poſted upon a hill on the right flank of the army, and gave the alarm. Immediately the ſavages, ruſhing down, began to fire on the advanced guard, which being ſupported, the enemy

Engages and defeats them.

were repulſed, and recovered their heights. Under this hill the line was obliged to march a conſiderable way. On the left there was a river, from the oppoſite banks of which a large party of Indians fired briſkly on the troops as they advanced. Colonel Grant ordered a party to march up the hill and drive the enemy from the heights, while the line faced about and gave their whole charge to the Indians that annoyed them from the ſide of the river. The engagement became general, and the ſavages ſeemed determined obſtinately to diſpute the lower grounds; while thoſe on the hill were diſlodged only to return with redoubled ardour to the charge. The ſituation of the troops was in ſeveral reſpects deplorable; fatigued by a tedious march, in rainy weather, ſurrounded with woods, ſo that they could not diſcern the enemy, galled by the ſcattered fire of ſavages, who when preſſed always kept aloof, but rallied again and again, and returned to the ground. No ſooner did the army gain an advantage over them in one quarter, than they appeared in another. While the attention of the commander was occupied in driving the enemy from their lurking-place on the river's ſide, the rear was attacked, and ſo vigorous an effort made for the flour and cattle, that he was obliged to order a party back to the relief of the rear-guard. From eight o'clock in the morning until eleven the ſavages continued to keep up an irregular and inceſſant fire, ſometimes from one place and ſometimes from another, while the woods reſounded with hideous ſhouts and yells, to intimidate the troops. At length the Cherokees gave way, and, being purſued for ſome time, popping ſhots continued till two o'clock, when they diſappeared. What loſs the

Defeats them and deſtroys their towns.

enemy ſuſtained in this action we have not been able to learn, but of Colonel Grant's army there were between fifty and ſixty men killed and wounded; and it is probable the loſs of the ſavages could not be much greater, and perhaps not ſo great, owing to their manner of fighting. Orders were given not to bury the ſlain, but to ſink them in the river, to prevent their being dug up from their graves and ſcalped. To provide horſes for thoſe that were wounded, ſeveral bags of flour were thrown into the river. After which the army proceeded to Etchoe, a pretty large Indian town, which they reached about midnight, and next day reduced to aſhes. Every other town in the middle ſettlements, fourteen in number, ſhared the ſame fate. Their magazines and corn fields were likewiſe deſtroyed, and thoſe miſerable ſavages, with their families, were driven to ſeek for ſhelter and proviſions among the barren mountains.

It would be no eaſy matter to deſcribe the various hardſhips which this little army endured in the wilderneſs, from heat, thirſt, watching, danger and fatigue. Thirty days did Colonel Grant continue in the heart of the Cherokee territories, and, upon his return to Fort Prince George, the feet and legs of many of his army were ſo mangled, and their ſtrength and ſpirits ſo much exhauſted, that they were utterly unable to march farther. He reſolved therefore to encamp at that place for a while, both to refreſh his men and wait the reſolutions of the Cherokees, in conſequence of the heavy chaſtiſement which they had received. Beſides the numberleſs advantages their country afforded for defence, it was ſuppoſed that ſome

ſome French officers had been among them, and given them all the aſſiſtance in their power. It is true the ſavages ſupported their attack for ſome hours with conſiderable ſpirit; but being driven from their advantageous poſts and thickets they were wholly diſconcerted, and though the repulſe was far from being deciſive, yet after this engagement they returned no more to the charge, but remained the tame ſpectators of their towns in flames, and their country laid deſolate.

Such engagements in Europe would be conſidered as trifling ſkirmiſhes, ſcarcely worthy of relation, but in America a great deal is often determined by them. It is no eaſy matter to deſcribe the diſtreſs to which the ſavages were reduced by this ſevere correction. Even in time of peace they are deſtitute of that foreſight, in a great meaſure, which provides for future events; but in time of war, when their villages are deſtroyed and their fields laid deſolate, they are reduced to extreme want. Being driven to the barren mountains, the hunters furniſhed with ammunition might indeed make ſome ſmall proviſion for themſelves, but women, children, and old men, muſt periſh, being deprived of the means of ſubſiſtence.

A few days after Colonel Grant's arrival at Fort Prince George, Attakullakulla, attended by ſeveral chieftains, came to his camp, and expreſſed a deſire of peace. Severely had they ſuffered for breaking their alliance with Britain, and giving ear to the deceitful promiſes of France. Convinced at laſt of the weakneſs and perfidy of the French, who were neither able to aſſiſt them in time of war, nor ſupply

Peace with the Cherokees

their wants in time of peace, they reſolved to renounce all connection with them for ever. Accordingly terms of peace were drawn up and propoſed, which were no leſs honourable to Colonel Grant than advantageous to the province. The different articles being read and interpreted, Attakullakulla agreed to them all excepting one, by which it was demanded, That four Cherokee Indians be delivered up to Colonel Grant at Fort Prince George, to be put to death in the front of his camp; or four green ſcalps be brought to him in the ſpace of twelve nights. The warrior having no authority from his nation, declared he could not agree to this article, and therefore the Colonel ſent him to Charleſtown, to ſee whether the Lieutenant-Governor would conſent to mitigate the rigour of it.

ACCORDINGLY Attakullakulla and the other chieftains, being furniſhed with a ſafeguard, ſet out for Charleſtown to hold a conference with Mr. Bull, who, on their arrival, called a council to meet at Aſhley Ferry, and then ſpoke to the following effect. "Attakullakulla, I am glad to ſee you, and "as I have always heard of your good behaviour, "that you have been a good friend to the Engliſh, "I take you by the hand, and not only you but all "thoſe with you alſo, as a pledge for their ſecurity "whilſt under my protection. Colonel Grant ac-"quaints me that you have applied for peace; now "that you are come, I have met with my beloved "men to hear what you have to ſay, and my ears "are open for that purpoſe." Then a fire was kindled, the pipe of peace was lighted, and all ſmoked together

together for ſome time in great ſilence and ſolemnity.

THEN Attakullakulla aroſe, and addreſſed the Lieutenant-Governor and Council to the following effect. "It is a great while ſince I laſt ſaw your honour; "now I am glad to ſee you, and all the beloved "men preſent—I am come to you as a meſſenger "from the whole nation—I have now ſeen you, "ſmoked with you, and hope we ſhall live together "as brothers.—When I came to Keowee, Colonel "Grant ſent me to you—You live at the water ſide, "and are in light—We are in darkneſs, but hope "all will be yet clear with us.—I have been con- "ſtantly going about doing good, and though I am "tired, yet I am come to ſee what can be done for "my people, who are in great diſtreſs." Here he produced the ſtrings of wampum he had received from the different towns, denoting their earneſt deſire of peace; and then added, "As to what has "happened, I believe it has been ordered by our "Father above.—We are of a different colour from "the white people—They are ſuperior to us—But "one God is father of all, and we hope what is "paſt will be forgotten.—God Almighty made all "people—There is not a day but ſome are coming "into, and others are going out of, the world.— "The great King told me the path ſhould never be "crooked, but open for every one to paſs and re- "paſs.—As we all live in one land, I hope we ſhall "all live as one people." After which peace was formally ratified and confirmed by both parties, and their former friendſhip being renewed, all hoped that

it

it would laſt as long as the ſun ſhall ſhine and the rivers run.

THUS ended the Cherokee war, which was among the laſt humbling ſtrokes given to the expiring power of France in North America, and Colonel Grant returned to Charleſtown to wait further orders. But no ſooner was peace concluded, and the province ſecured againſt external enemies, than an unhappy difference broke out between the two principal commanders of the regular and provincial forces. Colonel Grant, a native of Scotland, was naturally of an high ſpirit, to which he added that pride of rank which he held among thoſe Britiſh ſoldiers who had carried their arms triumphant through the continent. During this expedition it is probable that he ſcorned to aſk the advice of a provincial officer, whom he deemed an improper judge of military operations, and claimed the chief glory of having reſtored peace to the province. Colonel Middleton was equally warm and proud, and conſidering ſuch neglect as an affront, reſented it, and while ſome reflections were caſt upon the provincial troops, being the chief in command, he thought himſelf bound to ſtand forth as a champion for the honour of the province. This ill-humour, which appeared between the officers on their return to Charlestown, was encouraged and fomented by perſons delighting in broils, who, by malicious ſurmiſes and falſe reports, helped to widen the difference. The diſpute became ſerious, and was carried on for ſome time in the public papers by mutual charges of miſconduct, and at length terminated in a duel. Mr. Middleton called out Colonel Grant to the ſingle combat, after they had both given the beſt proof of their courage againſt

A quarrel between the commanding officers.

againſt the common enemy. The duel, however, happily terminated without bloodſhed, and not a little to the credit of the Scots officer, though his antagoniſt ſhewed no leſs ſpirit in the field of honour, falſely ſo called, than in defence of his country. The citizens of Charleſtown ſeemed intereſted in the diſpute, and each ſpoke of the conduct of the two officers as they were differently affected. Indeed, however much we may applaud the brave man who is firſt in the field in defence of his country, with juſtice we with-hold our praiſes from him that is firſt at the ſingle combat with a private friend. Colonel Grant, with great reaſon, conſidered ſuch treatment, after having brought the enemies of the colony to the moſt advantageous terms of peace, as a baſe recompence for his ſervices. From this period a party-ſpirit appeared in Carolina. All the malicious aſperſions and inflammatory accuſations againſt the inhabitants of North Britain, which were at this time wantonly and wickedly publiſhed in England, were greedily ſwallowed by one party in the province, and induſtriouſly propagated. Prejudices were contracted, cheriſhed, and unhappily gained ground among the people. Terms of reproach and abuſe were collected from thoſe factious publications in London, and poured indiſcriminately upon all the natives of Scotland, who were by no means backward in retorting the abuſe. In a growing province, where the utmoſt harmony and liberality of ſentiment ought to have been cheriſhed by all, as the moſt certain means of promoting the public ſtrength and proſperity, ſuch a party-ſpirit was attended, as might have been expected, with the moſt pernicious conſequence.

A whirlwind at Charlestown.

I HAVE already obſerved, that the province is ſubject to whirlwinds, eſpecially among the hills in the back country; but this year one of thoſe, which was indeed the moſt violent and dreadful that had ever been known, paſſed Charleſtown in the month of May. It appeared at firſt to the weſt of the town, like a large column of ſmoke, approaching faſt in an irregular direction. The vapour of which it was compoſed reſembled clouds rolling one over another in violent tumult and agitation, aſſuming at one time a dark, at another a bright flaming colour. Its motion was exceedingly ſwift and crooked. As it approached the inhabitants were alarmed with an uncommon ſound, like the continual roaring of diſtant thunder, or the noiſe made by a ſtormy ſea beating upon the ſhore, which brought numbers of people to witneſs the dreadful phenomenon. While it paſſed down Aſhley river, ſuch was its incredible velocity and force, that it plowed the waters to the bottom, and laid the channel bare. The town narrowly and providentially eſcaped, but it threatened deſtruction to a fleet conſiſting of no leſs than forty ſail of loaded ſhips, lying at anchor in Rebellion road, about four miles below the town, and waiting a fair wind to ſail for England. When it reached the fleet, five veſſels were ſunk in an inſtant by it, and his Majeſty's ſhip the Dolphin, with eleven others, were diſmaſted. Such was the ſituation of the fleet, and ſo rapid was the motion of the whirlwind, that though the ſeamen obſerved it approaching, it was impoſſible to provide againſt it. In its oblique courſe it ſtruck only a part of the fleet, and the damage, though computed at L. 20,000 ſterling, was by no means ſo great as might have been expected. Nor were many lives loſt, for the channel

of the river not being very deep, while the ſhips ſat down in the mud and were covered by the waves, the ſailors ſaved themſelves by running up the ſhrouds. The whirlwind paſſed the town a little before three o'clock, and before four the ſky was ſo clear and ſerene, that we could ſcarcely have believed ſuch a dreadful ſcene had been exhibited, had it not left many ſtriking proofs behind it. Its route was not only marked in the woods, having levelled the loftieſt trees, or ſwept them away before it like chaff, but its effects were viſible in the fleet, by the number of veſſels ſunk and diſmaſted.

It has been alſo remarked, that the province is ſubject to violent ſtorms of lightning and thunder throughout the year; but from the end of April until October they are very frequent and terrible. There are few nights during the ſummer in which lighting is not viſible in ſome part of the horizon. Sometimes indeed thoſe ſtorms are of ſhort duration, particularly when they come attended with briſk gales of wind; but when that is not the caſe, they will often laſt for four or five hours. While the clouds are gathering, it is ſurpriſing how quickly the atmoſphere, which was formerly ſerene, will be covered with darkneſs. To the inhabitants, accuſtomed to view ſuch appearances, the thunder-ſhower is rather welcome than alarming, as it cools the air and earth, and enables them to live comfortably during the remainder of the day; but to every ſtranger it is exceedingly grand and awful. As the flaſhes of lightning from the clouds commonly ſtrike the higheſt objects, and the whole country is covered with woods, the fury of the ſtorm for the moſt part falls

upon them, and its amazing effects are viſible from the vaſt number of blaſted trees every where appearing throughout the foreſt. The country being as yet but thinly peopled, the inhabitants do not ſuffer ſo ſeverely as might be expected, conſidering the violence of theſe ſtorms; yet few years paſs without ſome accidents from lightning. I never knew more than five houſes in the town, but others have obſerved nine, two churches and five ſhips ſtruck with lightning during one thunder-ſhower. Such ſtorms often occaſion conſiderable damage, particularly to the ſhips in the harbour; and ſometimes they are attended with ſhowers of hail, or rather ſolid pieces of ice, which fall with ſuch force as to beat down the corn in the fields, to break glaſs windows, and occaſion danger to children expoſed to them. But ſince the inhabitants have found out the method of erecting iron rods on their houſes, leſs damage has been done to them, and fewer lives have been loſt by lightning in this province.

Of the heat at Savanna.

THE climate of Georgia, like that of Carolina, is more mild and pleaſant in the inland than maritime parts. Governor Ellis has left us the following account of the heat of the ſummer at Savanna. In the 7th of July, while he was writing in his piazza, which was open at each end, he ſays the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer ſtood at 102 in the ſhade. Twice had it riſen to that height during the ſummer, ſeveral times to 100, and for many days together to 98; and in the night did not ſink below 89. He thought it highly probable, that the inhabitants of Savanna breathed a hotter air than any other people upon earth. The town being ſituated on a ſandy eminence, the reflection from the dry ſand, when there is little or no

no agitation in the air, greatly increaſes the heat; for by walking an hundred yards from his houſe upon the ſand, under his umbrella, with the thermometer ſuſpended by a thread to the height of his noſtrils, the mercury roſe to 105. The ſame thermometer he had with him in the equatorial parts of Africa, in Jamaica, and in the Leeward Iſlands; yet by his journals he found that it had never in any of theſe places riſen ſo high. Its general ſtation was between 79 and 86. He acknowledges, however, that he felt thoſe degrees of heat in a moiſt air more diſagreeable than at Savanna, when the thermometer ſtood at 81 in his cellar, at 102 in the ſtorey above it, and in the upper ſtorey of his houſe at 105. On the 10th of December the mercury was up at 86, on the 11th down as low as 38, on the ſame inſtrument. Such ſudden and violent changes, eſpecially when they happen frequently, muſt make havock of the human conſtitution; yet he aſſerts that few people die at Savanna out of the ordinary courſe, though many were working in the open air, expoſed to the ſun during this extreme heat.—As this governor was a man of ſenſe and erudition, and no doubt made his obſervations with great accuracy, we ſhall not preſume to call in queſtion the facts he relates; but we muſt ſay, we never ſaw the mercury riſe ſo high in the ſhade at Charleſtown, and believe it very ſeldom happens to do ſo in Georgia. We may add, that ſuch is the ſituation of Savanna, ſurrounded with low and marſhy lands, and ſo ſudden and great are the changes in the weather there, as well as in Carolina, that the maritime parts of both provinces muſt be ranked among the moſt unhealthy climates in the world.

CHAP. XI.

THE peace of Paris, though condemned by many in England as inadequate to the amazing ſucceſs that attended the Britiſh arms during the bloody war, and below the expectation of the Britiſh nation, unqueſtionably placed America in the moſt advantageous ſituation. As the flames of war firſt kindled in that continent, by a conteſt about the limits of the Britiſh and French territories, to prevent all diſputes of this kind for the future was made one of the firſt objects of attention in framing a treaty of peace. By the ſeventh article of this treaty it was agreed, "That, for the future, the confines between "the dominions of his Britannic Majeſty and thoſe "of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty in that part of the "world ſhould be fixed irrevocably, by a line drawn "along the middle of the river Miſſiſſippi, from its "ſource to the river Iberville, and from thence by "a line drawn along the middle of the river and the "lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the ſea." By the twentieth article, "His Catholic Majeſty ce-"ded and guarantied in full right to his Britannic "Majeſty, Florida, with Fort Auguſtine and the "Bay of Penſacola, as well as all that Spain poſſeſ-"ed on the continent of North America to the eaſt "or ſouth-eaſt of the river Miſſiſſippi, and in gene-"ral every thing depending on the ſaid countries "and lands, with the ſovereignty, property, poſſeſ-"ſion, and all rights acquired by treaties or other-"wiſe, which the Catholic King and the Crown of "Spain

A peace, and its happy effects reſpecting America.

" Spain have had till now over the ſaid countries, " lands, places, and other inhabitants." By theſe articles the ſouthern provinces were rendered perfectly ſecure, and, conſidering the nature of the country, no frontiers could be more diſtinctly defined.

But as the French colonies in the northern diſtrict had been the chief ſeat of war, the conqueſt of which had occaſioned ſuch an immenſe waſte of blood and treaſure to Britain, it was alſo judged proper to guard againſt the return of any danger on that ſide. Experience had ſhewn the nation, that while France poſſeſſes a ſingle ſtronghold on that continent, the Britiſh ſubjects could never enjoy perfect repoſe, but muſt be in danger of being again plunged into thoſe calamities from which they had been with ſo much difficulty delivered. Therefore it was determined to remove this ambitious and enterpriſing enemy entirely from the neighbourhood of theſe colonies, and ſecure them beyond a poſſibility of future moleſtation. Accordingly, by the fourth article of the treaty, " His moſt Chriſtian " Majeſty renounced all pretenſions which he had " heretofore formed, or might form, to Nova Sco- " tia, or Acadia, in all its parts, and guarantied the " whole of it, with all its dependencies, to the King " of Great Britain; as alſo Canada, with all its de- " pendencies; Cape Breton, and all the other iſlands " and coaſts in the Gulf of St. Laurence, and every " thing that depends on theſe countries, iſlands, " lands, places and coaſts, and their inhabitants; " ſo that the moſt Chriſtian King ceded and made " over the whole to the ſaid King and Crown of " Great

" Great Britain, and that in the moſt ample manner " and form, without reſtriction, and without any li- " berty to depart from ſaid ceſſion and guaranty " under any pretence, or to diſturb Great Britain in " the poſſeſſions above mentioned; reſerving only " the iſland of New Orleans, and liberty of fiſhing " in the Gulf of St. Laurence, which was granted, " upon condition that the ſubjects of France do not " execute the ſaid fiſhery but at the diſtance of three " leagues from all the coaſts belonging to Great " Britain, as well thoſe of the continent as thoſe of " the iſlands ſituated in the Gulf of St. Laurence."

We do not pretend to paſs any judgment on the value of theſe conqueſts in America, which were preferred to thoſe of the Weſt-India iſlands at the peace. By giving up a little of the ſugar trade, it was thought the nation loſt only a luxury, and could be ſufficiently ſupplied with all the ſugar and rum ſhe wanted from the iſlands which ſhe poſſeſſed before the war; and therefore the precious conqueſts in the Weſt Indies were ſacrificed to the ſecurity of America. The vaſt territory to the eaſt and ſouth-eaſt of the great river Miſſiſſippi formed the Britiſh empire on the continent, which, for variety of climate as well as of ſoil was exceeded by no empire upon earth. As the trade of the mother country had uniformly increaſed with the population of her colonies, it was hoped that by freeing them from all moleſtation, they muſt increaſe in a ſtill more rapid manner than they had hitherto done, to the great advantage of Britain; for while the coloniſts had liberty to extend their culture to the remoteſt deſert, the

trade

trade of the mother country would be increaſed, her debt diminiſhed, and at the ſame time the demand for manufactures would be ſo great, that all the hands ſhe employed would ſcarcely be able to furniſh the ſupply. Theſe were thought to be the probable conſequences which would flow from the ſecurity of our American colonies at the peace.

With reſpect to the new acquiſitions, great pains were taken to acquire an exact knowledge of them, not only to eſtabliſh proper regulations, but alſo to render them as uſeful and flouriſhing as poſſible. They were divided into three ſeparate independent governments, which were given to officers who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves during the war. The government of Eaſt Florida was bounded to the weſtward by the Gulf of Mexico and the river Apalachicola; to the north by a line drawn from that part of the above-mentioned river where the Catabouchee and Flint rivers meet, to the ſource of St. Mary's river, and by the courſe of the ſame river to the Atlantic Ocean; and to the eaſt and ſouth by the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Florida, including all iſlands within ſix leagues of the ſea coaſt. The government of Weſt Florida was bounded to the ſouthward by the Gulf of Mexico, including all iſlands within ſix leagues of the ſea coaſt, from the river Apalachicola to Lake Pontchartrain; to the weſtward by the ſaid lake, the lake Maurepas, and the river Miſſiſſippi; to the north by a line drawn due eaſt from that part of the river Miſſiſſippi which lies in thirty-one degrees of north latitude, to the river Apalachicola, or Catabouchee; and to the eaſt by the ſaid river. All the lands lying between the

Boundaries of Eaſt and Weſt Florida.

rivers Alatamaha and St. Mary's were annexed to the province of Georgia.

The poſſeſſion of theſe two provinces of Eaſt and Weſt Florida, though of themſelves little better than an immenſe waſte, was of great importance to the neighbouring provinces of Georgia and Carolina. It robbed the Spaniards of a ſtrong-hold from which they could ſend out an armed force and haraſs theſe provinces, and of an eaſy avenue through which they had often invaded them. It removed troubleſome neighbours out of their way, who had often inſtigated the ſavages againſt them, and made Auguſtine an aſylum for fugitive ſlaves. It opened ſome convenient ports for trade with Britain and the Weſt Indies, and for annoying French and Spaniſh ſhips coming through the Gulf of Florida, in caſe of any future rupture. It formed a ſtrong frontier to the Britiſh dominions in that quarter, and furniſhed an immenſe track of improveable land for reduced officers, ſoldiers, and others, to ſettle and cultivate. The ſouthern provinces left ſecure.

To teſtify the high ſenſe his Majeſty had of the conduct and bravery of his officers and ſoldiers during the late war, and to encourage the ſettlement of the colonies, tracks of land were offered them as the rewards of their ſervices. Orders were given to the governors on the continent, to grant, without fee or reward, five thouſand acres to every field officer who had ſerved in America, three thouſand to every captain, two thouſand to every ſubaltern, two hundred to every non-commiſſioned officer, and fifty to every private man; free of quit-rents for ten years, but ſubject, at the expiration of that term, to the ſame Encouragement given to reduced officers and ſoldiers.

moderate quit-rents as the lands in the other provinces, and to the ſame conditions of cultivation and improvement. In the new colonies, for the encouragement of the people, they were to be allowed civil eſtabliſhments, ſimilar to thoſe of the other royal governments on the continent, ſo ſoon as their circumſtances would admit, and the ſame proviſion was made for the ſecurity of their lives, liberties and properties under the new as under the old governments.

Georgia begins to flouriſh.

No province on the continent felt the happy effects of this public ſecurity ſooner than the province of Georgia, which had long ſtruggled under many difficulties, ariſing from the want of credit from friends, and the frequent moleſtations of enemies. During the late war the government had been given to James Wright, who wanted neither wiſdom to diſcern, nor reſolution to purſue, the moſt effectual means for its improvement. While he proved a father to the people and governed the province with juſtice and equity, he diſcovered at the ſame time the excellence of its low lands and river ſwamps, by the proper management and diligent cultivation of which he acquired in a few years a plentiful fortune. His example and ſucceſs gave vigour to induſtry, and promoted a ſpirit of emulation among the planters for improvement. The rich lands were ſought for with that zeal, and cleared with that ardour, which the proſpect of riches naturally inſpired. The Britiſh merchants obſerving the province ſafe, and advancing to a hopeful and flouriſhing ſtate, were no longer backward in extending credit to it, but ſupplied it with negroes, and goods of Britiſh manufacture, with equal freedom as the other provinces on that continent.

The

The planters no ſooner got the ſtrength of Africa to aſſiſt them than they laboured with ſucceſs, and the lands every year yielded greater and greater increaſe. The trade of the province kept pace with its progreſs in cultivation. The rich ſwamps attracted the attention not only of ſtrangers, but even of the planters of Carolina, who had been accuſtomed to treat their poor neighbours with the utmoſt contempt, ſeveral of whom ſold their eſtates in that colony, and moved with their families and effects to Georgia. Many ſettlements were made by Carolineans about Sunbury, and upon the great river Alatamaha. The price of produce at Savanna aroſe as the quantity increaſed, a circumſtance which contributed much to the improvement of the country. The planters ſituated on the oppoſite ſide of Savanna river found in the capital of Georgia a convenient and excellent market for their ſtaple commodities. In ſhort, from this period the rice, indigo and naval ſtores of Georgia arrived at the markets in Europe in equal excellence and perfection, and, in proportion to its ſtrength, in equal quantities with thoſe of its more powerful and opulent neighbours in Carolina. To form a judgment of the progreſs of the colony, we need only attend to its exports. In the year 1763, the exports of Georgia conſiſted of 7500 barrels of rice, 9633 libs. of indigo, 1250 buſhels of Indian corn, which, together with deer and beaver ſkins, naval ſtores, proviſions, timber, &c. amounted to no more than L. 27,021 ſterling; but afterwards the colony thrived and increaſed in a manner ſo rapid, that, in the year 1773, it exported ſtaple commodities to the value of L. 121,677 ſterling.

No leſs favourable and happy were the bleſſings of peace and ſecurity to their neighbours of Carolina;

for never did any country flouriſh and proſper in a more aſtoniſhing degree than this province has done ſince the concluſion of the late war. The government had been given to Thomas Boone, who had a good talent for buſineſs, and both knowledge and ability equal to the important truſt. The French and Spaniards being removed out of the way, the progreſs of the colony in improvement was no more retarded by any moleſtation from them. The aſſembly appropriated a large fund for bounties to foreign Proteſtants, and ſuch induſtrious poor people of Britain and Ireland as ſhould reſort to the province within three years, and ſettle on the inland parts. Two townſhips, each containing 48,000 acres, were laid out; one on the river Savanna, called Mecklenburgh, and the other on the waters of Santee at Long Canes, called Londonderry; to be divided among emigrants, allowing one hundred acres for every man, and fifty for every woman and child, that ſhould come and ſettle in the back woods. The face of the country in thoſe interior parts is variable and beautiful, and being compoſed of hills and vallies, rocks and rivers, there is not that ſtagnation in the air, which is ſo exceedingly hurtful to the human conſtitution in the flat marſhy parts of the province, The hills occaſion an agitation in the atmoſphere, and by collecting the air in ſtreams, theſe run along the earth in pleaſant breezes, and mitigate the rigour of the hot ſeaſon. The climate in thoſe inland parts is not only more mild and wholeſome, but the ſoil, particularly in the vallies, which are covered with lofty trees and luxuriant buſhes, is exceedingly fertile, and promiſed in the ampleſt manner to reward the induſtrious labourer. In conſequence of this encouragement offered, it was hoped that multitudes would reſort to Carolina,

A plan adopted for encouraging emigrations to Carolina.

rolina, and ſettle thoſe extenſive and fruitful territories in the back woods, by which means the frontiers of the province would be ſtrengthened, its produce increaſed, and its trade enlarged.

A number of Palatines ſeduced into England.

Not long after this a remarkable affair happened in Germany, by which Carolina received a great acquiſition. One Stumpel, who had been an officer in the King of Pruſſia's ſervice, being reduced at the peace, applied to the Britiſh miniſtry for a tract of land in America, and having got ſome encouragement returned to Germany, where, by deceitful promiſes, he ſeduced between five and ſix hundred ignorant people from their native country. When theſe poor Palatines arrived in England, the officer finding himſelf unable to perform his promiſes, fled, leaving them in a ſtrange land, without money, without friends, expoſed in the open fields, and ready to periſh through want. While they were in this ſtarving condition, and knew no perſon to whom they could apply for relief, a humane clergyman, who came from the ſame country, took compaſſion on them, and publiſhed their deplorable caſe in the news-papers. He pleaded for the mercy and protection of government to them, until an opportunity might offer of tranſporting them to ſome of the Britiſh colonies, where he hoped they would prove uſeful ſubjects, and in time give their benefactors ample proofs of their gratitude and affection. No ſooner did their unhappy ſituation reach the ears of a great perſonage, than he immediately ſet an example to his ſubjects, which ſerved both to warm their hearts and open their hands for the relief of their diſtreſſed fellow-creatures. A bounty of three hundred pounds was allowed them; tents were ordered from the Tower for the accommodation

modation of ſuch as had paid their paſſage and been permitted to come aſhore; money was ſent for the relief of thoſe that were confined on board. The public-ſpirited citizens of London, famous for acts of beneficence and charity, aſſociated, and choſe a committee on purpoſe to raiſe money for the relief of theſe poor Palatines. A phyſician, a ſurgeon, and man-midwife, generouſly undertook to attend the ſick gratis. From different quarters benefactions were ſent to the committee, and in a few days thoſe unfortunate ſtrangers, from the depth of indigence and diſtreſs, were raiſed to comfortable circumſtances. The committe finding the money received more than ſufficient to relieve their preſent diſtreſs, applied to his Majeſty to know his royal pleaſure with reſpect to the future diſpoſal of the German Proteſtants. His Majeſty, ſenſible that his colony of South Carolina had not its proportion of white inhabitants, and having expreſſed a particular attachment to it, ſignified his deſire of tranſporting them to that province. Another motive for ſending them to Carolina was the bounty allowed to foreign Proteſtants by the provincial aſſembly, ſo that when their ſource of relief from England ſhould be exhauſted, another would open after their arrival in that province, which would help them to ſurmount the difficulties attending the firſt ſtate of cultivation.

Sent into Carolina.

ACCORDINGLY preparations were made for ſending the Germans to South Carolina. When the news was communicated to them they rejoiced, not only becauſe they were to go to one of the moſt fertile and flouriſhing provinces on the continent, but alſo becauſe many of them had friends and countrymen before them. Two ſhips, of two hundred tons each,

each, were provided for their accommodation, and proviſions of all kinds laid in for the voyage. An hundred and fifty ſtand of arms were ordered from the Tower, and given them by his Majeſty for their defence after their arrival in America; all which deſerve to be recorded for the honour of the Britiſh nation, which has at different times ſet before the world many noble examples of benevolence. Every thing being ready for their embarkation, the Palatines broke up their camp in the fields behind White-Chapel, and proceeded to the ſhips attended by ſeveral of their benefactors; of whom they took their leave with ſongs of praiſe to God in their mouths, and tears of gratitude in their eyes.

In the month of April, 1764, they arrived at Charleſtown, and preſented a letter from the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations to Governor Boone, acquainting him that his Majeſty had been pleaſed to take the poor Palatines under his royal care and protection, and as many of them were verſed in the culture of ſilks and vines, had ordered that a ſettlement be provided for them in Carolina, in a ſituation moſt proper for theſe purpoſes. Though their ſettlement met with ſome obſtructions from a diſpute ſubſiſting at that time between the Governor and Aſſembly about certain privileges of the houſe; yet the latter could not help conſidering themſelves as laid under the ſtrongeſt obligations to make proviſion for ſo many uſeful ſettlers. Accordingly, in imitation of the noble example ſet before them in London, they voted five hundred pounds ſterling to be diſtributed among the Palatines, according to the directions of the Lieutenant-Governor, and their neceſſities. That they might be ſettled in a body, one of the two townſhips,

called

And ſettled at Londonderry.

called Londonderry, was allotted for them, and divided in the moſt equitable manner into ſmall tracts, for the accommodation of each family. Captain Calhoun, with a detachment of the rangers, had orders to meet them by the way, and conduct them to the place where their town was to be built, and all poſſible aſſiſtance was given towards promoting their ſpeedy and comfortable ſettlement.

Some emigrate from Britain, and multitudes from Ireland.

BESIDES foreign Proteſtants, ſeveral perſons from England and Scotland reſorted to Carolina after the peace. But of all other countries none has furniſhed the province with ſo many inhabitants as Ireland. In the northern counties of that kingdom the ſpirit of emigration ſeized the people to ſuch a degree, that it threatened almoſt a total depopulation. Such multitudes of huſbandmen, labourers and manufacturers flocked over the Atlantic, that the landlords began to be alarmed, and to concert ways and means for preventing the growing evil. Scarce a ſhip ſailed for any of the plantations that was not crowded with men, women and children. But the bounty allowed new ſettlers in Carolina proved a great encouragement, and induced numbers of theſe people, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the climate, to reſort to that province. The merchants finding this bounty equivalent to the expences of the paſſage, from avaricious motives perſuaded the people to embark for Carolina, and often crammed ſuch numbers of them into their ſhips that they were in danger of being ſtifled during the paſſage, and ſometimes were landed in ſuch a ſtarved and ſickly condition, that numbers of them died before they left Charleſtown. Many cauſes may be aſſigned for this ſpirit of emigration that prevailed ſo much in Ireland: ſome, no doubt, emigrated from a natural

reſtleſſneſs of temper, and a deſire of roving abroad, without any fixed object in view. Others were enticed over by flattering promiſes from their friends and relations, who had gone before them. But of all other cauſes of emigration oppreſſion at home was the moſt powerful and prevalent. Moſt men have a natural fondneſs and partiality for their native country, and leave it with reluctance while they are able to earn a comfortable livelihood in it. That ſpot where they firſt drew the breath of life, that ſociety in which they ſpent the gay ſeaſon of youth, the religion, the manners and cuſtoms of thoſe among whom they were educated, all conſpire to affect the heart, and endear their native country to them. But poverty and oppreſſion will break through every natural tie and endearment, and compel men to rove abroad in ſearch of ſome aſylum againſt domeſtic hardſhip. Hence it happened that many poor people forſook their native land, and preferred the burning ſky and unwholeſome climate of Carolina, to the temperate and mild air of their mother country. The ſucceſs that attended ſome friends who had gone before them being alſo induſtriouſly publiſhed in Ireland, and with all the exaggerations of travellers, gave vigour to the ſpirit of adventure, and induced multitudes to follow their countrymen, and run all hazards abroad, rather than ſtarve at home. Government winked at thoſe emigrations, and every year brought freſh ſtrength to Carolina, inſomuch that the lands in Ireland were in danger of lying waſte for want of labourers, and the manufactures of dwindling into nothing.

And from the northern colonies, reſort to Carolina.

NOR were theſe the only ſources from which Carolina, at this time, derived ſtrength and an increaſe of population. For, notwithſtanding the vaſt extent of territory which the provinces of Virginia and Pennſylvania contained, yet ſuch was the nature of the country, that a ſcarcity of improveable lands began to be felt in theſe colonies, and poor people could not find ſpots in them unoccupied equal to their expectations. Moſt of the richeſt vallies in theſe more populous provinces lying to the eaſt of the Alleganny mountains were either under patent or occupied, and, by the royal proclamation at the peace, no ſettlements were allowed to extend beyond the ſources of the rivers which empty themſelves into the Atlantic. In Carolina the caſe was different, for there large tracks of the beſt lands as yet lay waſte, which proved a great temptation to the northern coloniſts to migrate to the ſouth. Accordingly, about this time above a thouſand families, with their effects, in the ſpace of one year reſorted to Carolina, driving their cattle, hogs and horſes over land before them. Lands were allotted them on the frontiers, and moſt of them being only entitled to ſmall tracks, ſuch as one, two or three hundred acres, the back ſettlements by this means ſoon became the moſt populous parts of the province. The frontiers were not only ſtrengthened and ſecured by new ſettlers, but the old ones on the maritime parts began alſo to ſtretch backward and ſpread their branches, in conſequence of which the demand for lands in the interior parts every year increaſed. The Governor and Council met once a-month for the purpoſe of granting lands and ſigning patents, and it is incredible what numbers of people attended thoſe meetings in order to obtain them; ſo that, from the time in which

America

America was ſecured by the peace, Carolina made rapid progreſs in population, wealth and trade, which will farther appear when we come particularly to conſider its advanced ſtate and annual exports.

Regulations for ſecuring the provinces againſt Indians.

In proportion as the province increaſed in the number of white inhabitants, its danger from the ſavage tribes grew leſs alarming. But to prevent any moleſtation from Indians, and eſtabliſh the peace of the colonies on the moſt laſting foundation, his Majeſty, by his royal proclamations after the peace, took care to fix the boundaries of their hunting lands, in as clear a manner as the nature of the country would admit. No ſettlements were allowed to extend any farther backward upon the Indian territories, than the ſources of thoſe great rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, and all Britiſh ſubjects who had ſettled beyond theſe limits were ordered to remove. In this reſtriction his Majeſty evidently made a diſtinction between the rights of ſovereignty and thoſe of property; having excluded his governors from all manner of juriſdiction over thoſe lands which were not ſpecified within the limits of their reſpective provinces. All private ſubjects were prohibited from purchaſing lands from Indians; but if the latter ſhould at any time be inclined to diſpoſe of their property, it muſt for the future be done to the King, by the general conſent of their nation, and at a public aſſembly held by Britiſh governors for that purpoſe. All traders were obliged to take out licences from their reſpective governors for carrying on commerce with Indian nations.

Such regulations were in many reſpects uſeful and neceſſary; for the French and Spaniards being ex-

cluded, it only remained to guard the provinces againſt the danger ariſing from Indians. And as they were liable to much abuſe and oppreſſion from private traders, it was thought neceſſary that the office of a ſuperintendant ſhould be continued for the ſouthern as well as the northern diſtrict of America. Accordingly this office was given to Captain John Stuart, who was in every reſpect well qualified for the truſt. Attakullakulla had ſignified to the Governor and Council, after the Cherokee war, that the province would receive no moleſtation from Indians were this officer appointed to reſide among them, and to adviſe and direct them. The Aſſembly had not only thanked him for his good conduct and great perſeverance at Fort Loudon, and rewarded him with fifteen hundred pounds currency, but alſo recommended him to the Governor as a perſon worthy of preferment in the ſervice of the province. After his commiſſion arrived from the King, the Carolineans rejoiced, and promiſed themſelves for the future great tranquillity and happineſs. Plans of lenity were likewiſe adopted by government with reſpect to thoſe Indian tribes, and every poſſible precaution was taken to guard them againſt oppreſſion, and prevent any rupture with them. Experience had ſhewn that rigorous meaſures, ſuch as humbling them by force of arms, were not only very expenſive and bloody, but diſagreeable to a humane and generous nation, and ſeldom accompanied with any good effects. Such ill treatment rendered the ſavages cruel, ſuſpicious and diſtruſtful, and prepared them for renewing hoſtilities, by keeping alive their ferocious and warlike ſpirit. Their extirpation, even though it could eaſily be compleated, would be a cruel act, and all the while

John Stuart made ſuperintendant for Indian affairs.

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the growth and proſperity of the ſettlements would be much retarded by the attempt. Whereas, by treating Indians with gentleneſs and humanity, it was thought they would by degrees loſe their ſavage ſpirit, and become more harmleſs and civilized. It was hoped that by eſtabliſhing a fair and free trade with them, their rude temper would in time be ſoftened, their manners altered, and their wants increaſed; and inſtead of implacable enemies, ever bent on deſtruction, they might be rendered good allies, both uſeful and beneficial to the trade of the nation.

Decreaſe of Indians, and the cauſes of it.

It has been remarked, that thoſe Indians on the continent of America, who were at the time of its diſcovery a numerous and formidable people, have ſince that period been conſtantly decreaſing, and melting away like ſnow upon the mountains. For this rapid depopulation many reaſons have been aſſigned. It is well known that population every where keeps pace with the means of ſubſiſtence. Even vegetables ſpring and grow in proportion to the richneſs of the ſoil in which they are planted, and to the ſupplies they receive from the nouriſhing rains and dews of heaven; animals flouriſh or decay according as the means of ſubſiſtence abound or fail; and as all mankind partake of the nature of both, they alſo multiply or decreaſe as they are fed, or have proviſion in plenty, luxury excluded. The Indians being driven from their poſſeſſions near the ſea as the ſettlements multiplied, were robbed of many neceſſaries of life, particularly of oyſters, crabs, and fiſh, with which the maritime parts furniſhed them in great abundance, and on which they muſt have conſiderably ſubſiſted,

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as is apparent from a view of their camps, ſtill remaining near the ſea-ſhore. The women are not only much diſregarded and deſpiſed, but alſo naturally leſs prolific among rude than poliſhed nations. The men being often abroad, at hunting or war, agriculture, which is the chief means of ſubſiſtence among a civilized people, is entirely neglected by them, and looked upon as an occupation worthy only of women or ſlaves. That abſtinence and fatigue which the men endure in their diſtant excurſions, and that gluttony and voraciouſneſs in which they indulge themſelves in the times of plenty, are equally hurtful to the conſtitution, and productive of diſeaſes of different kinds. Now that their territories are circumſcribed by narrower bounds, the means of ſubſiſtence derived even from game is leſs plentiful. Indeed ſcanty and limited are the proviſions they raiſe by planting, even in the beſt ſeaſons; but in caſe of a failure of their crops, or of their fields being deſtroyed by enemies, they periſh in numbers by famine. Their natural paſſion for war the firſt European ſettlers ſoon diſcovered; and therefore turned the fury of one tribe againſt another, with a view to ſave themſelves. When engaged in hoſtilities, they always fought not ſo much to humble and conquer, as to exterminate and deſtroy. The Britiſh, the French and Spaniſh nations, having planted colonies in their neighbourhood, a rivalſhip for power over them took place, and each nation having its allies among the ſavages, was zealous and indefatigable in inſtigating them againſt the allies of its neighbour. Hence a ſeries of bloody and deſtructive wars has been carried on among theſe rude tribes, with all the rage and rancour of implacable enemies.

But famine and war, however deſtructive, were not the only cauſes of their rapid decay. The ſmall-pox having broke out among them, proved exceedingly fatal, both on account of the contageous nature of the diſtemper, and their harſh and injudicious attempts to cure it by plunging themſelves into cold rivers during the moſt violent ſtages of the diſorder. The peſtilence broke out among ſome nations, particularly among the Pemblicos in North Carolina, and almoſt ſwept away the whole tribe. The practice of entrapping them, which was encouraged by the firſt ſettlers in Carolina, and ſelling them for ſlaves to the Weſt-India planters, helped greatly to thin their nations. But, of all other cauſes, the introduction of ſpirituous liquors among them, for which they diſcovered an amazing fondneſs, has proved the moſt deſtructive. Exceſs and intemperance not only undermined their conſtitution, but alſo created many quarrels, and ſubjected them to a numerous liſt of fatal diſeaſes, to which in former times they were entire ſtrangers. Beſides thoſe Europeans engaged in commercial buſineſs with them, generally ſpeaking, have been ſo far from reforming them, by examples of virtue and purity of manners, that they rather ſerved to corrupt their morals, and render them more treacherous, diſtruſtful, baſe and debauched than they were before this intercourſe commenced. In ſhort, European avarice and ambition have not only debaſed the original nature and ſtern virtue of that ſavage race, ſo that thoſe few Indians that now remain have loſt in a great meaſure their primitive character; but European vice and European diſeaſes, the conſequences of vice, have exterminated this people, inſomuch that many nations formerly populous are totally extinct, and their names entirely forgotten.

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Preſent ſtate of Indian nations in the ſouthern diſtrict.

THE principal tribes around Carolina that now remain are, the Cherokees, the Catabaws, the Creeks, the Chickeſaws, and Choctaws, and a few others that ſcarcely deſerve to be mentioned. In 1765 the Cherokees, who inhabit the mountains to the north of Charleſtown, could ſcarcely bring two thouſand men to the field. The Catabaws have fifteen miles ſquare allotted them for hunting lands, about two hundred miles north of Charleſtown, with Britiſh ſettlements all around them; but they are ſo much reduced by a long war with the Five Nations, that they could not muſter one hundred and fifty warriors. The Creeks inhabit a fine country on the ſouth-weſt, between four and five hundred miles diſtant from Charleſtown, and the number of both the Upper and Lower nations does not exceed two thouſand gun-men. The Chickeſaw towns lie about ſix hundred miles due weſt from Charleſtown, but the nation cannot ſend three hundred warriors to the field, owing to the inceſſant wars which they have carried on againſt the French, by which their number has been greatly diminiſhed. The Choctaws are at leaſt ſeven hundred miles weſt-ſouth-weſt from Charleſtown, and have between three and four thouſand gun-men; and as their ſettlements border on Weſt Florida, the greateſt part of them till the late peace remained allies of France. But as theſe artful and inſinuating rivals were removed out of the way, and the Britiſh government had adopted prudent plans of civilizing and managing thoſe barbarous nations, the colonies for the future were in a great meaſure freed from all apprehenſions of danger from them. I ſhall therefore conclude my obſervations reſpecting Indians with a ſpeech of Mr. Stuart the ſuperintendant, delivered at a general congreſs held

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in Mobile, at which Governor Johnſtone and many Britiſh officers and ſoldiers attended. For as he was ſo well acquainted with the humours, tempers and characters of theſe tribes, this ſpeech, in which is exhibited a good ſpecimen of the language and manner proper for addreſſing barbarous nations, may not be unworthy of the reader's attention.

Mr. Stuart's firſt ſpeech to the Indians at Mobile.

" FRIENDS and brothers, the Supreme Being who " made the world and all its inhabitants, has been " pleaſed to permit many great warriors of the Britiſh " and Indian nations to meet together in peace. The " great King, who is the father of all white people in " Great Britain and America, and defends them from " danger, this day ſtretches out his arms to receive " his red children into favour. He has been pleaſed to " appoint me ſuperintendent of the affairs of all Indian " nations to the ſouthward of Virginia. In his name " I ſpeak to you, and as the words you hear are his " words, I hope you will liſten to them with attention, " and allow them to remain deeply impreſſed on your " minds. They are calculated to promote not only " your happineſs, but that of your children and " childrens children for ever.

" WHEN the great kings of Britain and France " were at variance, the ſtorms of war raged through " this great foreſt, the Indian nations were divided, " brothers againſt brothers, and your country was " ſtained with blood. Malice and revenge went forth, " all paths were made crooked, and your land was " covered with darkneſs. Now that it has pleaſed the " Author of life to reſtore the bleſſings of light and " peace, it is our duty to make a proper uſe and im-

" provement of them. As fogs gathered in the night " are diſperſed by the riſing ſun, ſo words dictated by " the rage of war ſhould be forgotten in the time of " peace. The great King, full of wiſdom and magna- " nimity, knows the frailty of his red children, and " forgives their diſobedience and rebellion. He ex- " tends his love to them all, even to thoſe that lifted " up the hatchet againſt him. To render them ſecure, " he has reſolved that the Engliſh and French ſhall " be for ever ſeparated by the great river Miſſiſſippi, " and that all nations on this ſide of it ſhall have " him for their common father. He commands all " ſtrife and enmity between his white and red chil- " dren to ceaſe, and expects that the allies of Britain " will take thoſe Indians, the former allies of France, " by the hand, and live together like brethren " of one family. That his white and red children " may be near one other, and mutually ſupply each " other's wants, he has ordered ſome of his good " ſubjects to come over the great waters, and live " on the fruits of this land, which the Supreme " Being made for the uſe of mankind in general. " To open this friendly intercourſe, I have invited " you all to meet me at this place, and I rejoice that " ſo many brothers are come to accept of the royal " favour and protection.

" Ye Chickeſaw warriors, I ſpeak firſt to you, and " I know your ears are open to my words. The great " King regards you as children brought up in their " father's houſe, who from their infancy have been " dutiful and obedient, and by that means merited " what you have always enjoyed, his particular care " and affection. While darkneſs ſurrounded you on

" every

" every ſide, he has defended you from all thoſe ſnares " and dangers to which you were expoſed. Now " the day is clear and unclouded. Your father conti- " nues to love you. The paths from your towns to all " nations ſhall be made ſtraight and plain, and nothing " ſhall be permitted to hurt your feet. Your children " ſhall rejoice and grow up in ſafety, and your houſes " ſhall be filled with abundance of corn and veniſon. " I am come to tell you the good news, and to ſee that " juſtice be done you in all commercial dealings.

" In the next place I ſpeak to you, ye warriors of " the great party of the Choctaw nation. You were " like ſons ſeparated from their father, and removed " at a great diſtance from his protection; but by " perſiſting in obedience you were entitled to his " love. The great King always acknowledged you, " but now he receives you into his family, and offers " you all the favours and privileges of ſons. While you " continue dutiful and obedient, the eye of your fa- " ther ſhall be upon you, and his hand ſhall be open " to relieve your wants. Under his care you ſhall " enjoy all the bleſſings of peace and ſafety. You " ſhall receive no injuries from friends, nor be ex- " poſed to any dangers from enemies. Your arms " ſhall be kept bright, your hunting lands no man ſhall " be permitted to take from you, and there ſhall be " abundance of corn about your villages.

" But as for you, ye Choctaw warriors of the Six " Villages, you were like children early loſt. While " you were wandering out of the way, without know- " ing your brothers you blindly ſtruck them. You " found a father, indeed, who adopted you, and you

" have long ſerved him with zeal, and ſhewn many " proofs of your courage. You have received from " your French father ſuch poor rewards for your ſer- " vices as he could beſtow; but all the while you re- " mained under his care you were hungry, naked " and miſerable. He gave you many fair words and " promiſes, and having long deceived you, at laſt is " obliged to leave you in your preſent forlorn and " wretched condition, Now your true father has " found you, and this day ſtretches forth his arms " to receive you under his protection. He has for- " gotten all your paſt offences. He knows your weak- " neſs, and forgives your errors. He knows your " wants, and is diſpoſed to relieve them. I have " but one tongue, and always ſpeak the truth; and " as I bring you good news, I hope my words ſhall " not be blown away by the wind. The great King " is wiſe, generous and merciful, and I flatter myſelf " with the hopes that you will never forget your ob- " ligations to his goodneſs.

" It is my duty to watch over Indians, and " protect them againſt all manner of danger and op- " preſſion. For this purpoſe my ears ſhall be always " open to your complaints, and it ſhall be my ſtudy " to redreſs your grievances. I muſt warn you to " beware of all quarrels and outrages, by which you " will certainly forfeit the royal favour, and plunge " yourſelves again into miſery. I hope you will al- " ways obſerve my advice, and conduct yourſelves " accordingly, that I may be able to tranſmit good " accounts of your behaviour to England. It is only " by the permiſſion of the great King that your wants " can be ſupplied, and that traders can come into

" your

" your villages with guns, powder, balls, knives,
" hatchets, flints, hoes, clothes and other neceſſaries.
" Theſe things you cannot make for yourſelves, and
" no other nation will be allowed to furniſh you with
" them. Therefore the great King has a right to
" expect your gratitude and obedience, for all he re-
" quires is with a view to your own tranquillity and
" happineſs.

" As you are all received into the family of the
" great King, it is expected that Indians will not on-
" ly live in friendſhip and peace with white men, but
" alſo with one another. In imitation of his Majeſty's
" good example, you muſt forget all injuries and of-
" fences, and throw aſide all national jealouſies and
" antipathies. The King expects that the great chief-
" tains, to whom he has given medals and gorgets, will
" conſider them not merely as ornaments, but as em-
" blems of the high offices they bear, and the great
" truſt repoſed in them. All preſents made you are
" in conſideration of the good ſervices expected from
" you. Therefore, ye wiſe and great leaders, I expect
" you will uſe your authority like fathers, and reſtrain
" your young men from all acts of violence and injuſ-
" tice, and teach them that the only way to merit ho-
" nour and preferment is to be juſt, honeſt and peace-
" able, and that diſgrace and puniſhment will be the
" conſequences of diſorderly practices, ſuch as robbing
" plantations, and beating or abuſing white people.

" Ye warriors who have no commiſſions, I ſpeak
" to you alſo in name of the King, and I hope you
" will reverence his authority and love your brethren.
" Liſten at all times to your wiſe rulers, and be care-
" ful

" ful to follow their advice and example. By their " wiſdom and juſtice they have arrived at an high " pitch of preferment, and ſtand diſtinguiſhed by " great and ſmall medals. If, like them, you wiſh " to be great, like them, you muſt firſt be good. " You muſt reſpect them as children do their father, " yielding ſubmiſſion to their authority, and obedi- " ence to their commands. Without the favour of " your chiefs you will neither get your wants ſup- " plied nor reach the ſtation of honour. An ar- " mourer will be ſent into your nation to clean and " repair your rifles, but he will have inſtructions to " mend arms to none but ſuch as ſhall be recom- " mended by their chiefs, it being proper that ſuch " leaders ſhould have it in their power to diſtinguiſh " thoſe that are peaceable and obedient from the ob- " ſtinate and perverſe.

" I AM to inform you all, that I will ſend a belo- " ved man into your towns, who will be veſted with " authority to hear and determine all differences be- " tween you and the traders, to deliver all meſſages " from me to you, and all talks from you to me. " And as he will come to promote your welfare and " tranquillity, I hope you will receive him kindly, " protect him againſt all inſults, and aſſiſt him in the " execution of his office.

" WHEN the French governor took his leave of " you, he adviſed you to look upon yourſelves as " the children of the King of Great Britain. The " advice was good, I hope you will remember it for " ever. The great King has warriors numerous as " the trees of the foreſt, and ſtands in no need of

" your

" your aſſiſtance; but he deſires your friendſhip and " alliance to render you happy. He loves peace and " juſtice, but he will puniſh all murders and rebel- " lion. Be careful, therefore, to keep your feet far " from the crooked and bloody path. Shun all com- " munication with Indian tribes who lift the hatchet " againſt their white brethren. Their talks, their " calamets, their belts of wampum, and their tobac- " co, are all poiſonous. If you receive them into " your towns, be aſſured you will be infected with " their madneſs, and be in danger of ruſhing into " deſtruction. Be cautious, above all things, of " permitting great quantities of rum to be brought " into your villages. It poiſons your body, enervates " your mind, and, from reſpectable warriors, turns " you into furious madmen, who treat friends and " enemies alike. Mark thoſe perſons, whether they " be white or red, that bring rum among you, for " bad men, who violate the laws, and have nothing " elſe in view but to cheat, and render you deſpi- " cable and wretched.

" LASTLY, I inform you that it is the King's or- " der to all his governors and ſubjects, to treat Indi- " ans with juſtice and humanity, and to forbear all " encroachments on the territories allotted for them. " Accordingly, all individuals are prohibited from " purchaſing any of your lands; but as you know that " your white brethren cannot feed you when you viſit " them unleſs you give them grounds to plant, it is ex- " pected that you will cede lands to the King for that " purpoſe. But whenever you ſhall be pleaſed to ſur- " render any of your territories to his Majeſty, it muſt " be done for the future at a public meeting of your " nation,

" nation, when the governors of the provinces, or " the ſuperintendent ſhall be preſent, and obtain the " conſent of all your people. The boundaries of " your hunting grounds will be accurately fixed, and " no ſettlement permitted to be made upon them. " As you may be aſſured that all treaties with you " will be faithfully kept, ſo it is expected that you alſo " will be careful ſtrictly to obſerve them. I have now " done, and I hope you will remember the words I " have ſpoken. Time will ſoon diſcover to you the " generoſity, juſtice and goodneſs of the Britiſh na- " tion. By the bounty of the King, and a well-or- " dered trade with his ſubjects, your houſes ſhall be " filled with plenty, and your hearts with joy. You " will ſee your men and women well clothed and fed, " and your children growing up to honour you, and " add ſtrength to your nation; your peace and proſ- " perity ſhall be eſtabliſhed, and continue from ge- " neration to generation."

HAVING now endeavoured to give ſome account of the riſe and progreſs of this colony for the firſt century after its ſettlement, or rather from the time the Proprietors received their ſecond charter in 1665 to the year 1765, we ſhall add a general view of its preſent ſtate and condition. I have purpoſely delayed ſpeaking of ſeveral things, particularly of the temper, manners and character of the people, until this period, when they come more immediately under my own notice; and ſuch obſervations as I have made ſhall now be ſubmitted to the public view for the uſe of ſtrangers, leaving all men acquainted with provincial affairs to judge for themſelves, according to the different lights in which matters may have occurred to them.

With reſpect to the towns in Carolina, none of them, excepting one, merit the ſmalleſt notice. Beaufort, Puriſburgh, Jackſonburgh, Dorcheſter, Camden, and George-town, are all inconſiderable villages, having in each no more than twenty, thirty, or, at moſt, forty dwelling houſes. But Charleſtown, the capital of the province, may be ranked with the firſt cities of Britiſh America, and yearly advances in ſize, riches and population. It is ſituated upon a neck of land at the confluence of Aſhley and Cooper rivers, which are large and navigable, and waſh at leaſt two third parts of the town. Theſe rivers mingle their ſtreams immediately below the town, and, running ſix or ſeven miles farther, empty themſelves at Sullivan's iſland into the Atlantic Ocean. By means of ſuch broad rivers the ſea is laid open from eaſt to ſouth-eaſt, and the town fanned by gentle breezes from the ocean, which are very refreſhing to the inhabitants during the ſummer months. The tide flows a great way above the town, and occaſions an agitation in the air which is alſo productive of ſalutary effects. So low and level is the ground upon which Charleſtown is built, that the inhabitants are obliged to raiſe banks of earth, as barriers, to defend themſelves againſt the higher floods of the ſea. The ſtreets from eaſt to weſt extend from river to river, and, running in a ſtraight line, not only open a beautiful proſpect, but alſo afford excellent opportunities, by means of ſubterranean drains, for removing all nuiſances, and keeping the town clean and healthy. Theſe ſtreets are interſected by others, nearly at right angles, and throw the town into a number of ſquares, with dwelling houſes on the front, and office-houſes and little gardens be-

A deſcription of Charles-town.

hind them. Some of the ſtreets are broad, which in ſuch a climate is a neceſſary and wiſe regulation, for where narrow lanes and alleys have been tolerated, they prove by their confined ſituation a fruitful nurſery for diſeaſes of different kinds. The town, which was at firſt entirely built of wood, as might be expected, has often ſuffered from fire; but ſuch calamities, though they fell heavy on individuals, have given the inhabitants frequent opportunities of making conſiderable improvements in it. Now moſt houſes are built of brick, three ſtoreys high, ſome of them elegant, and all neat habitations; within they are genteelly furniſhed, and without expoſed as much as poſſible to the refreſhing breezes from the ſea. Many of them are indeed encumbered with balconies and piazzas, but theſe are found convenient and even neceſſary during the hot ſeaſon, into which the inhabitants retreat for enjoying the benefit of freſh air, which is commonly occaſioned, and always increaſed, by the flux and reflux of the ſea. Almoſt every family have their pump-wells, but the water in them being at no great diſtance from the ſalt river, and filtered only through ſand, is brackiſh, and commonly occaſions ſevere griping and purging to every perſon not accuſtomed to it. The town conſiſted at this time of, at leaſt, twelve hundred dwelling houſes, and was in an advancing ſtate. The public buildings are, an Exchange, a State-Houſe, an Armoury, two churches for Epiſcopalians, one for Preſbyterians, two for French and Dutch Proteſtants; to which may be added, meeting-houſes for Anabaptiſts, Independents, Quakers and Jews. Upon the ſides of the rivers wharfs are built, to which all ſhips that come over the bar may lie cloſe; and having ſtores

and

and ware-houſes erected upon them, are exceedingly convenient for importing and exporting all kinds of merchandiſe.

The harbour is alſo tolerably well fortified, the King having at different times preſented the province with great guns for that purpoſe. Towards Cooper river the town is defended by a number of batteries, inſomuch that no ſhips of an enemy can approach it without conſiderable hazard. Beſides theſe, the paſſage up to it is ſecured by Fort Johnſon, built on James's Iſland, about two miles below the town. This fort ſtands in a commanding ſituation, within point-blank ſhot of the channel, through which every ſhip, in their way to and from Charleſtown, muſt paſs. The commander of Fort Johnſon is commiſſioned by the King, and has authority to ſtop every ſhip coming in until the maſter or mate ſhall make oath that there is no malignant diſtemper on board. It has barracks for fifty men; but, in caſe of emergency, it obtains aſſiſtance from the militia of the iſland. During the late Cherokee war a plan was alſo formed for fortifying the town towards the land, with a horn-work built of tappy, flanked with batteries and redoubts at proper diſtances, and extending from river to river; but, after having ſpent a great ſum of money on this work, peace being reſtored, the deſign was dropt.

The number of its inhabitants.

In 1765 the number of white inhabitants in Charleſtown amounted to between five and ſix thouſand, and the number of negroes to between ſeven and eight thouſand. With reſpect to the number of white inhabitants in the province we cannot be certain, but we may form ſome conjecture from the

militia roll; for as all male perſons from ſixteen to ſixty are obliged by law to bear arms and muſter in the regiments, and as the whole militia formed a body of between ſeven and eight thouſand, reckoning the fifth perſon fit for military duty, the whole inhabitants in the province might amount to near forty thouſand. But the number of negroes was not leſs than eighty or ninety thouſand. As no exact regiſter of the births and funerals has been kept at Charleſtown for ſeveral years, we cannot aſcertain the proportion between them. Formerly, when bills of mortality were annually printed, the common computation was, that, while no contagious diſorder prevailed in town, one out of thirty-five died yearly, or one out of each family in the ſpace of ſeven years. However, the liſt of deaths is often increaſed by the ſailors and tranſient perſons that die in the town, and by malignant diſtempers imported into it. It is generally believed, that the number of births among the ſettled inhabitants exceeds that of funerals; but we ſhall affirm nothing with reſpect to this matter without better authority than common obſervation and conjecture.

A general view of the manners, &c. of the people.

WITH reſpect to temper and character, the inhabitants of Carolina differ little from thoſe of Great Britain and Ireland; I mean, ſuch as derived their origin from thoſe iſlands, for the deſcendents of other nations ſtill retain ſomething of the complexion, manners and cuſtoms of thoſe countries from whence they came. In ſtature, the natives of Carolina are about the middle ſize; for in Europe we meet with men both taller and ſhorter. They are, generally ſpeaking, more forward and quick in growth than the natives of cold climates. Indeed we may ſay, there

there are no boys or girls in the province, for from childhood they are introduced into company, and aſſume the air and behaviour of men and women. Many of them have an happy and natural quickneſs of apprehenſion, eſpecially in the common affairs of life, and manage buſineſs with eaſe and diſcretion; but want that ſteadineſs, application and perſeverance neceſſary to the higheſt improvements in the arts and ſciences. Several natives who have had their education in Britain, have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their knowledge in the laws and conſtitution of their country; but thoſe who have been bred in the province, having their ideas confined to a narrower ſphere, have as yet made little figure as men of genius or learning. Agriculture being more lucrative than any other employment, all who poſſeſs lands and negroes apply their chief attention to the improvement of their fortune, regardleſs of the higher walks of ſcience. They commonly marry early in life, and of courſe are involved in domeſtic cares and concerns before their minds have had time to ripen in knowledge and judgment. In the progreſs of ſociety they have not advanced beyond that period in which men are diſtinguiſhed more by their external than internal accompliſhments. Hence it happens, that beauty, figure, agility and ſtrength form the principal diſtinctions among them, eſpecially in the country. Among Engliſh people they are chiefly known by the number of their ſlaves, the value of their annual produce, or the extent of their landed eſtate. For the moſt part they are lively and gay, adapting their dreſs to the nature of the climate in which they live, and diſcover no ſmall taſte and neatneſs in their outward appearance. Their intercourſe and communication with Britain being eaſy and frequent, all novelties in faſhion,

dreſs

dreſs and ornament are quickly introduced; and even the ſpirit of luxury and extravagance, too common in England, was beginning to creep into Carolina. Almoſt every family kept their chaiſes for a ſingle horſe, and ſome of the principal planters of late years have imported fine horſes and ſplendid carriages from Britain. They diſcover no bad taſte for the polite arts, ſuch as muſic, drawing, fencing and dancing; and it is acknowledged by all, but eſpecially by ſtrangers, that the ladies in the province conſiderably outſhine the men. They are not only ſenſible, diſcreet and virtuous, but alſo adorned with moſt of thoſe polite and elegant accompliſhments becoming their ſex. The Carolineans in general are affable and eaſy in their manners, and exceedingly kind and hoſpitable to all ſtrangers. There are few old men or women to be found in the province, which is a ſure ſign of the unhealthineſs of the climate. We cannot ſay that there are many in the country that arrive at their ſixtieth year, and ſeveral at thirty bear the wrinkles, bald head and grey hairs of old age. As every perſon by diligence and application may earn a comfortable livelihood, there are few poor people in the province, except the idle or unfortunate. Nor is the number of rich people great; moſt of them being in what we call eaſy and independent circumſtances. It has been remarked, that there are more perſons poſſeſſed of between five and ten thouſand pounds ſterling in the province, than are to be found any where among the ſame number of people. In reſpect of rank, all men regarded their neighbour as their equal, and a noble ſpirit of benevolence pervaded the ſociety. In point of induſtry the town was like a bee-hive, and there were none that reaped not advantages more or leſs from the flouriſhing

riſhing ſtate of trade and commerce. Pride and ambition had not as yet crept into this community; but the province was faſt advancing to that ſtate of power and opulence, when ſome diſtinctions among men neceſſarily take place.

And of their way of living.

WITH reſpect to the manner of living in Charlestown, it is nearly the ſame as in England; and many circumſtances concur to render it neither very difficult nor expenſive to furniſh plentiful tables. They have tea from England, and coffee, chocolate and ſugar from the Weſt Indies, in plenty. Butter is good, eſpecially at that ſeaſon when the fields are cleared of rice, and the cows are admitted into them; and it is ſo plentiful that they export a good deal of it to the Leeward Iſlands. The province produces ſome flour for bread; but it being of an inferior quality, the inhabitants chiefly make uſe of that imported from New York and Philadelphia. In the market there is plenty of beef, pork, veal, poultry and veniſon, and a great variety of wild-fowls and ſalt-water fiſh. The mutton from the low lands is not ſo good as that from the hills in the interior parts, but as the back country is now well ſettled, it is hoped that the market in time will be likewiſe well ſupplied with mutton from it. They have alſo a variety of the fineſt fruits and vegetables in their ſeaſon. Their principal drink is punch, or grog, which is compoſed of rum well diluted with water. With reſpect to wine, Madeira is not only beſt ſuited to the climate, in which it improves by heat and age, but alſo moſt commonly uſed by the people in general, though French, Spaniſh and Portugueſe wines are likewiſe preſented at the tables of the moſt opulent citizens. Beſides theſe,

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they have porter and beer from England, and cyder and perry from the northern colonies. Where rum is cheap, exceſs in the uſe of it will not be uncommon, eſpecially among the lower claſs of people; but the gentlemen in general are ſober, induſtrious and temperate. In ſhort, the people are not only bleſſed with plenty, but with a diſpoſition to ſhare it among friends and neighbours; and many will bear me witneſs, when I ſay, that travellers could ſcarcely go into any city where they could meet with a ſociety of people more agreeable, intelligent and hoſpitable than that at Charleſtown.

The arts and ſciences only of late encouraged.

THOUGH the arts and ſciences had been long neglected, and have as yet made no great progreſs in the province, yet of late years they have met with great encouragement. The people in general ſtand not only much indebted to an ingenious bookſeller, who introduced many of the moſt diſtinguiſhed authors among them, but ſeveral of the moſt reſpectable citizens alſo united and formed a ſociety for the promotion of literature, having obtained a charter of incorporation for that purpoſe. All the new publications in London, and many of the moſt valuable books, both ancient and modern, have been imported for the uſe of this ſociety; the members of which were ambitious of proving themſelves the worthy deſcendants of Britiſh anceſtors, by tranſporting not only their inferior arts of induſtry and agriculture, but alſo their higher improvements in philoſophy and juriſprudence. Their deſign was not confined to the preſent generation, but extended to poſterity, having the inſtitution of a college in view, ſo ſoon as the funds of the ſociety ſhould admit of it. News-papers were alſo printed, for ſupplying

plying the province with the freſheſt and moſt uſeful intelligence of all that paſſed in the political and commercial world. For amuſement the inhabitants of Charleſtown had not only books and public papers, but alſo aſſemblies, balls, concerts and plays, which were attended by companies almoſt equally brilliant as thoſe of any town in Europe of the ſame ſize.

The militia and internal ſtrength of the province.

Charleſtown had its armoury, magazine, and militia, and every citizen, like thoſe of ancient Sparta, joined the military to the civil character. The officers of the militia are appointed by the Governor, who commonly nominates ſuch men from among the inhabitants to command the reſt as are moſt diſtinguiſhed for their courage and capacity. All men of the military age being regiſtered in the militia roll, each perſon knows the company to which he belongs, the captain who commands it, and is obliged to keep his arms in order, and to appear properly equipped in caſe of any alarm or other emergency. We cannot ſay that the militia in general made a good appearance, or ſeemed expert at the uſe of arms; but the companies of grenadiers, light infantry, and artillery, were extravagantly gay, and tolerably well diſciplined. As moſt of the men were equally independent as their officers, that prompt obedience to orders, neceſſary in a regular army, could not be expected from them; but being conſcious that union of ſtrength was neceſſary to the common ſafety, on all emergencies they appeared under arms with alacrity and expedition. By the militia law the merchants and tradeſmen of the city were ſubjected to ſome temporary inconve-

niencies and interruptions of buſineſs; but as agriculture was chiefly carried on by ſlaves, and nature brought the fruits of the earth to maturity, the planters in the country had abundance of time to ſpare for military exerciſes. Their rural life, and the conſtant uſe of arms, promoted a kind of martial ſpirit among them, and the great dangers to which they were always expoſed, habituated them to face an enemy with reſolution. Fortunately a natural antipathy ſubſiſted between Indians and negroes, and prevented the two from uniting and conſpiring the deſtruction of the colony. Therefore, while Indians remained quiet and peaceable; it was not the intereſt of the province to have them removed at a great diſtance; for had they been driven over the Miſſiſſippi, or extirpated, their place would probably have been ſupplied by fugitive ſlaves, who, by taking ſhelter in the mountains, would have proved an enemy equally, if not more, cruel and formidable to Carolina than the Indians themſelves; or had the ſavage nations given encouragement to ſlaves to fly to them for liberty and protection, fatal muſt the conſequences have been to the ſettlement.

Of its ſocieties formed for mutual ſupport and relief.

THUS expoſed to barbarians, the members of this little community knew that union of ſtrength was not only requiſite to the common ſafety, but both intereſt and duty naturally led them to eſtabliſh ſocieties with a particular view of raiſing funds for relieving each others wants. Though every perſon was obliged by law to contribute, in proportion to his eſtate, for the relief of the poor of the province, yet, beſides this, there were ſeveral ſocieties formed and incorporated for the particular purpoſe of aſſiſting ſuch families belonging

longing to them as might happen to be unfortunate in trade, or in any other way reduced to an indigent ſtate. Among theſe there is one called The South-Carolina Society, which merits particular notice. At firſt it conſiſted not of the moſt opulent citizens, though many of theſe afterwards joined it, but of perſons in moderate ſtations, who held it an eſſential duty to relieve one another in ſuch a manner as their circumſtances would admit; accordingly they united, elected officers, and, by trifling weekly contributions, donations and legacies, together with good management, in proceſs of time accumulated a conſiderable ſtock. A common ſeal was provided, with the device of a hand planting a vine, and the motto *Poſteritati*. The Heavens ſmile on humane and generous deſigns. Many obſerving the great uſefulneſs of this ſociety, petitioned for admiſſion into it; and as its numbers increaſed its ſtock enlarged. In 1738, their capital amounted to no more than L. 213 : 16 s.; but, in 1776, it had ariſen to a ſum not leſs than L. 68,787 : 10 : 3, current money. All the while their works of charity have likewiſe been conſpicuous and extenſive. Many unfortunate and ſinking families have been ſupported by them in a decent and reſpectable manner. Many helpleſs orphans have been educated, and prepared for being uſeful members of ſociety. Several other ſocieties in Charleſtown have been founded upon the ſame plan, and on many occaſions the inhabitants in general, (it may be mentioned to their honour), have diſcovered a benevolent and charitable ſpirit, not only to poor people in the province, but alſo to unfortunate ſtrangers.

Of its merchants and trade.

The merchants in Carolina are a reſpectable body of men, induſtrious and indefatigable in buſineſs, free, open and generous in their manner of conducting it. The whole warehouſes in Charleſtown were like one common ſtore, to which every trader had acceſs for ſupplying his cuſtomers with thoſe kinds of goods and manufactures which they wanted. The merchants of England, eſpecially ſince the late peace, obſerving the colonies perfectly ſecure, and depending on the ſtrength of the Britiſh navy for the protection of trade, vied with each other for cuſtomers in America, and ſtretched their credit to its utmoſt extent for ſupplying the provinces. Hence every one of them were well furniſhed with all kinds of merchandiſe. But as the ſtaples of Carolina were valuable, and in much demand, credit was extended to that province almoſt without limitation, and vaſt multitudes of negroes, and goods of all kinds, were yearly ſent to it. In proportion as the merchants of Charleſtown received credit from England, they were enabled to extend it to the planters in the country, who purchaſed ſlaves with great eagerneſs, and enlarged their culture. Though the number of planters had of late years much increaſed, yet they bore no proportion to the vaſt extent of territory, and lands were ſtill eaſily procured, either by patent or by purchaſe. According to the number of hands employed in labour, agriculture proſpered and trade was enlarged. An uncommon circumſtance alſo attended this rapid progreſs, which was favourable to the planting intereſt, and proved an additional incentive to induſtry. The price of ſtaple commodities aroſe as the quantity brought to market increaſed. In 1761 rice ſold at forty ſhillings per barrel, and indigo at two

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ſhillings per lib.; but in 1771, in ſo flouriſhing a ſtate was the commerce of this country, that rice brought at market three pounds ten ſhillings per barrel, and indigo three ſhillings per lib. At the ſame time the quantity increaſed ſo much, that the exports of Carolina amounted, upon an average of three years after the peace, to L. 395,666 : 13 : 4; but, in 1771, the exports in that year alone aroſe to a ſum not leſs than L. 756,000 ſterling. How great then muſt the imports have been, when the province, notwithſtanding this amazing increaſe, ſtill remained in debt to the mother country.

Of its planters and agriculture.

To this advanced ſtate had Carolina arrived in point of improvement. Agriculture, beyond doubt, is of ſuch importance to every country, that, next to public ſecurity and the diſtribution of juſtice and equity, it is the intereſt of every government to encourage it. Nothing could more manifeſtly promote induſtry and agriculture, than that fair and equitable diviſion of lands among the people which took place in this province. Immenſe tracts of ground in poſſeſſion of one man, without hands to cultivate and improve them, are only unprofitable deſerts: but when lands are judiciouſly parcelled out among the people, induſtry is thereby encouraged, population increaſed, and trade promoted. The lands firſt yield abundance for the inhabitants, and then more than they can conſume. When this is the caſe, the overplus can be ſpared for procuring foreign articles of exchange, and the province is thereby furniſhed with the conveniencies and luxuries of another climate and country. Then the planter's views are turned to the advantages of trade, and the merchant's, in return,

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to the ſucceſs of huſbandry. From which time a mutual dependence ſubſiſts between them, and it is the intereſt of the one to encourage the other. For when the merchants receive nothing from the province, it is impoſſible they can afford to import any thing into it. Without cultivation commerce muſt always languiſh, being deprived of its chief ſupplies, the fruits of the earth. Without credit from the merchant there would have been little encouragement to emigrate to Carolina. A ſingle arm could make little impreſſion on the foreſt. A poor family, depending for ſupport on the labour of one man, would have long remained in a ſtarving condition, and ſcarcely ten of an hundred emigrants, obliged to work in ſuch a climate, would have ſurvived the tenth year after their arrival. To what cauſes then ſhall we aſcribe the proſperity of the province? The anſwer is plain, Under the royal care the people, being favoured with every advantage reſulting from public ſecurity, an indulgent government, abundance of land, large credit, liberty to labour and to reap the whole fruits of it, protection to trade, and an excellent market for every ſtaple, laboured with ſucceſs. Theſe were powerful motives to emigrate, ſtrong incentives to induſtry, and the principal cauſes of its rapid advances towards maturity. No colony that ever was planted can boaſt of greater advantages. Few have, in the ſpace of an hundred years, improved and flouriſhed in an equal degree.

NOTWITHSTANDING the favourable ſituation for agriculture in which the Carolineans ſtood, they remained ſlovenly huſbandmen, and every ſtranger was aſtoniſhed at the negligent manner in which all eſtates

eſtates in the province were managed. Thoſe planters who had arrived at eaſy or affluent circumſtances employed overſeers; and having little to do but to ride round their fields now and then, to ſee that their affairs were not neglected, or their ſlaves abuſed, indulge themſelves in rural amuſements, ſuch as racing, muſtering, hunting, fiſhing, or ſocial entertainments. For the gun and dog the country affords ſome game, ſuch as ſmall partridges, woodcocks, rabbits, *&c.* but few of the planters are fond of that kind of diverſion. To chace the fox or the deer is their favourite amuſement, and they are forward and bold riders, and make their way through the woods and thickets with aſtoniſhing ſpeed. The horſes of the country, though hardy and ſerviceable animals, make little figure; and therefore, to improve the breed, many have been of late years imported from England. The planters being fond of fine horſes, have been at great pains to raiſe them, ſo that they now have plenty of an excellent kind, both for the carriage and the turf.

In every plantation great care is taken in making dams to preſerve water, for overflowing the rice-fields in ſummer, without which they will yield no crops. In a few years after this pond is made, the planters find it ſtocked with a variety of fiſhes; but in what manner they breed, or whence they come, they cannot tell, and therefore leave that matter to philoſophical inquirers to determine. Some think that the ſpawn of fiſhes is exhaled from the large lakes of freſh water in the continent, and being brought in thunder-clouds, falls with the drops of rain into theſe reſervoirs of water. Others imagine that it muſt have remained every where among

among the ſand ſince that time the ſea left theſe marſh-time parts of the continent. Others are of opinion, that young fiſh are brought by water-fowls, which are very numerous, from one pond to another, and there dropt, by which means the new-made pools receive their ſupply. But be the cauſe what it will, the effect is viſible and notorious all over the country. When the ponds are ſtocked with fiſhes, it becomes an agreeable amuſement to catch them, by hawling a ſene through the pool. Parties of pleaſure are formed for this purpoſe, ſo that the young planters, like gentlemen of fortune, being often abroad at theſe rural ſports and ſocial entertainments, their domeſtic affairs by ſuch means are much neglected, and their plantations carelefsly managed.

But even among the moſt diligent and attentive planters we ſee not that nice arrangement and order in their fields obſervable in moſt places of Europe, probably owing to the plenty and cheapneſs of land. In every country where landed eſtates are eaſily procured, they engroſs not that care and attention requiſite for making them yield the greateſt returns. The freeholds in Carolina are not only eaſily obtained by patent or purchaſe, but alſo all alienable at pleaſure; ſo that few of the preſent generation of planters regulate their ſyſtem of huſbandry upon any eſtabliſhed principles or plans, much leſs with any views to poſterity. In no country have the fineſt improvements been found in the firſt ages of cultivation. This remains for a future day, and when lands ſhall be more ſcarce and valuable, and the country better peopled; then, it is probable, Carolina will

cover, like other countries, the effects of the nice art and careful management of the huſbandman.

At preſent the common method of cultivation is as follows. After the planter has obtained his tract of land, and built a houſe upon it, he then begins to clear his field of that load of wood with which the land is covered. Nature points out to him where to begin his labours; for the ſoil, however various, is every where eaſily diſtinguiſhed, by the different kinds of trees which grow upon it. Having cleared his field, he next ſurrounds it with a wooden fence, to exclude all hogs, ſheep and cattle from it. This field he plants with rice or indigo, year after year, until the lands are exhauſted or yield not a crop ſufficient to anſwer his expectations. Then it is forſaken, and a freſh ſpot of land is cleared and planted, which is alſo treated in like manner, and in ſucceſſion forſaken and neglected. Although there are vaſt numbers of cattle bred in the province, yet no manure is provided for improving the ſoil. No trials of a different grain are made. No graſs ſeeds are ſown in the old fields for enriching the paſtures, ſo that either ſhrubs and buſhes again ſpring up in them, or they are overgrown with a kind of coarſe graſs, grateful or nouriſhing to no animal. Like farmers often moving from place to place, the principal ſtudy with the planters is the art of making the largeſt profit for the preſent time, and if this end is obtained, it gives them little concern how much the land may be exhauſted. The emulation that takes place among the preſent generation, is not who ſhall put his eſtate in the moſt beautiful order, who ſhall manage it with moſt ſkill and judgment for poſterity; but who ſhall bring the largeſt

crop to the market. Let their children provide for themſelves. They will endeavour to leave them plenty of labourers, and they know they can eaſily obtain abundance of lands; vain and abſurd, therefore, would it be to beſtow much pains and time in preparing this or that landed eſtate for them, and laying it out in fine order, which they are certain will be deſerted ſo ſoon as the lands are exhauſted.

Such is the preſent method of carrying on agriculture in Carolina, and it may do for ſome time, but every one muſt clearly ſee that it will be productive of bad effects. The richneſs of the ſoil, and the vaſt quantity of lands, have deceived many, even thoſe men who had been bred farmers in England, and made them turn out as careleſs huſbandmen as the natives themſelves. Wherever you go in this province, you may diſcover the ignorance of the people with reſpect to agriculture, and the ſmall degree of perfection to which they have yet attained in this uſeful art. This will not be the caſe much longer, for lands will become ſcarce, and time and experience, by unfolding the nature of the ſoil, and diſcovering to the planters their errors, will teach them, as circumſtances change, to alter alſo their preſent rules, and careleſs manner of cultivation. In every country improvements are gradual and progreſſive. In ſuch a province as Carolina, where the lands are good, new ſtaples will be introduced, new ſources of wealth will open; and, if we may judge from what is paſt, we may conclude, that, if no miſunderſtandings or quarrels ſhall interrupt its future progreſs, it certainly promiſes to be one of the moſt flouriſhing ſettlements in the world. We have ſeen that its exports are already very great, even while the lands

ſands are negligently cultivated and ill managed; but how much greater will they be when the art of agriculture ſhall have arrived at the ſame degree of perfection in that province as in England.

SUCH, at this period, was the happy ſituation of the people and province of South Carolina; ſafe under the royal care and protection, and advancing to an opulent ſtate by the unlimited credit and great indulgence granted by Britain. However, if we proceed a little farther, we ſhall ſee the face of things gradually changing. We ſhall behold the mother country, as the wealth of her colonies increaſed, attempting ſome alteration in their political and commercial ſyſtem; and the different provinces, infected with pride and ambition, aſpiring after independence. Let us take a ſlight view of the cauſes of that unhappy quarrel which at this time began between them, and afterwards proceeded to ſuch a degree of violence as to threaten a total diſſolution of all political union and commercial intercourſe.

An interruption of the harmony between Britain and her colonies, and the cauſes of it.

IT might have been expected that thoſe colonies would not ſoon forget their obligations to the mother country, by which they had been ſo long cheriſhed and defended. As all the colonies were in themſelves ſo many independent ſocieties, and as in every ſtate protection and allegiance are reciprocal and inſeparable duties, one would have thought that ſubjects would yield obedience to the laws, and ſubmiſſion to the authority of that government under which they claimed protection. Such was the conſtitution of the provinces, that each, by its own legiſlature, could only regulate the internal police within the bounds of its

territory. Thus far, and no farther, did its authothority extend. Not one of them could either make or execute regulations binding upon another. They had no common council, empowered by the conſtitution, to act for and to bind all, though perhaps good policy now required the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a council, for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue from them. Every member of the vaſt empire might perceive, that ſome common tax, regularly and impartially impoſed, in proportion to the ſtrength of each diviſion, was neceſſary to the future defence and protection of the whole. In particular, the people of Great Britain, when they looked forward to the poſſible contingency of a new war, and conſidered the burdens under which they groaned, had a melancholy and dreadful proſpect before them; and the parliament conſidered it as their indiſpenſible duty to relieve them as much as poſſible, and provide for the ſafety of the ſtate by a proportionable charge on all its ſubjects. For as the exemption of one part from this equal charge was unreaſonable and unjuſt, ſo it might tend to alienate the hearts of theſe ſubjects reſiding in one corner of the empire from thoſe in another, and deſtroy that union and harmony in which the ſtrength of the whole conſiſted.

SUCH were probably the views and deſigns of the parliament of Great Britain at this juncture, with reſpect to America. At the ſame time, if we conſider the genius, temper and circumſtances of the Americans, we will find them jealous of their liberties, proud of their ſtrength, and ſenſible of their importance to Britain. They had hitherto obeyed the laws of the Britiſh parliament; but their great diſtance,

diſtance, their vaſt extent of territory, their numerous ports and conveniencies for trade, their increaſing numbers, their various productions, and conſequently their growing power, had now prepared and enabled them for reſiſting ſuch laws as they deemed inconſiſtent with their intereſt, or dangerous to their liberty. Some of theſe coloniſts even inherited a natural averſion to monarchy from their forefathers, and on all occaſions diſcovered a ſtrong tendency towards a republican form of government, both in church and ſtate. So that, before the parliament began to exert its authority for raiſing a revenue from them, they were prepared to ſhew their importance, and well diſpoſed for reſiſting that ſupreme power, and looſening by degrees their connection with the parent ſtate.

AMERICA was not only ſenſible of her growing ſtrength and importance, but alſo of the weakneſs of the mother country, reduced by a tedious and expenſive war, and groaning under an immenſe load of national debt. The colonies boaſted of the aſſiſtance they had given during the war, and Great Britain, ſenſible of their ſervices, was generous enough to reimburſe them part of the expences which they had incurred. After this they began to over-rate their importance, to riſe in their demands, and to think ſo highly of their trade and alliance, as to deem it impoſſible for Britain to ſupport her credit without them. In vain did the mother country rely upon their gratitude for paſt favours, ſo as to expect relief with reſpect to her preſent burdens. We allow, that the firſt generation of emigrants retained ſome affection for Britain during their lives, and gloried in calling her

her their home and their mother country; but this natural impreſſion wears away from the ſecond, and is entirely obliterated in the third. Among the planters in all the colonies this was manifeſtly the caſe; the ſons of Engliſhmen in America by degrees loſt their affection for England, and it was remarkable, that the moſt violent enemies to Scotland were the deſcendants of Scotchmen.

But among merchants, the attachment to any particular country is ſtill ſooner loſt. Men whoſe great object is money, and whoſe buſineſs is to gather it as faſt as poſſible, in fact retain a predilection for any country no longer than it affords them the greateſt advantages. They are citizens of the world at large, and provided they gain money, it is a matter of indifference to them to what country they trade, and from what quarter of the globe it comes. England is the beſt country for them, ſo long as it allows them to reap the greateſt profits in the way of traffic; and when that is not the caſe, a trade with France, Spain, or Holland will anſwer better. If the laws of Great Britain interfere with their favourite views and intereſts, merchants will endeavour to elude them, and ſmuggle in ſpite of legal authority. Of late years, although the trade of the colonies with the mother country had increaſed beyond the hopes of the moſt ſanguine politicians, yet the American merchants could not be confined to it, but carried on a contraband trade with the colonies of France and Spain, in defiance of all the Britiſh laws of trade and navigation. This illicit trade the people had found very advantageous, having their returns in ſpecie for their proviſions and goods, and the vaſt number of creeks and rivers

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in America proved favourable to ſuch ſmugglers. During the late war this trade had been made a treaſonable practice, as it ſerved to ſupply thoſe iſlands which Britain wanted to reduce; but, after the concluſion of the war, it returned to its former channel, and increaſed beyond example in any paſt period.

To prevent this illicit commerce, it was found neceſſary, ſoon after the peace, to eſtabliiſh ſome new regulations in the trade of the colonies. For this purpoſe ſome armed ſloops and cutters were ſtationed on the coaſts of America, whoſe commanders had authority to act as revenue officers, and to ſeize all ſhips employed in that contraband trade, whether belonging to foreigners or fellow-ſubjects. And to render theſe commercial regulations the more effectual, courts of admiralty were erected, and inveſted with a juriſdiction more extenſive than uſual. In conſequence of the reſtrictions laid on this trade, which the ſmugglers found ſo advantageous, it ſuffered much, and, notwithſtanding the number of creeks and rivers, was almoſt annihilated. This occaſioned ſome very ſpirited repreſentations to be ſent acroſs the Atlantic by merchants, who declared that the Americans bought annually to the amount of three millions of Britiſh commodities: That their trade with the French and Spaniſh colonies took off ſuch goods as remained an incumbrance on their hands, and made returns in ſpecie, to the mutual advantage of both parties concerned in it. They complained, that the Britiſh ſhips of war were converted into Guarda Coſtas, and their commanders into cuſtom-houſe officers; an employment utterly unworthy of the exalted character of the Britiſh navy: That naval officers were very unfit for this buſi-

The new regulations made in the trade of the colonies give great offence.

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neſs in which they were employed, being naturally imperious in their tempers, and little acquainted with the various caſes in which ſhips were liable to penalties, or in which they were exempted from detention: That that branch of trade was thereby ruined, by which alone they were furniſhed with gold and ſilver for making remittances to England; and that though the loſs fell firſt upon them, it would ultimately fall on the commerce and revenue of Great Britain.

Soon after this an act of parliament was paſſed, which, while it in ſome reſpects rendered this commercial intercourſe with the foreign ſettlements legal, at the ſame time loaded a great part of the trade with duties, and ordered the money ariſing from them to be paid in ſpecie to the Britiſh exchequer. Inſtead of giving the coloniſts any relief, this occaſioned greater murmurs and complaints among them, as it manifeſtly tended to drain the provinces of their gold and ſilver. At the ſame time another act was paſſed, for preventing ſuch paper bills of credit as might afterwards be iſſued for the conveniency of their internal commerce, from being made a legal tender in the payment of debts. This ſerved to multiply their grievances, and aggravate their diſtreſs. But that the provinces might be ſupplied with money for their internal trade, all gold and ſilver ariſing from theſe duties were to be reſerved, and applied to the particular purpoſe of paying troops ſtationed in the colonies for their defence. Several new regulations for encouraging their trade with Great Britain were alſo eſtabliſhed. In conſequence of a petition for opening more ports for the rice trade, leave was

granted to the provinces of South Carolina and Georgia to carry their rice for a limited time into foreign parts, on its paying Britiſh duties at the place of exportation. A bounty was given on hemp and undreſſed flax imported into Britain from the American colonies; and a bill was paſſed for encouraging the whale-fiſhery on the coaſts of America: which advantages, it was thought, would amply compenſate for any loſs the colonies might ſuſtain by the duties laid on their foreign trade. But the coloniſts, eſpecially thoſe in New England, who had advanced to ſuch a degree of ſtrength as rendered troops unneceſſary for their defence, were too much ſoured in their tempers, to allow that Great Britain had any other than ſelf-intereſted views in her whole conduct towards them. They murmured and complained, and reſolved on a plan of retrenchment with reſpect to the purchaſing of Britiſh manufactures; but ſtill they preſumed not openly to call in queſtion the authority of the Britiſh legiſlature over them. But the time was at hand when their affection to the mother country, which was already conſiderably weaned, ſhould undergo a greater trial, and when their real diſpoſitions with reſpect to the obedience due to the Britiſh parliament would no longer be concealed. A vote paſſed in the Houſe of Commons, and very unanimouſly, "That, towards the farther defraying of the "neceſſary expences of protecting the colonies, it "may be proper to charge certain ſtamp-duties up-"on them."

A vote paſſed for charging ſtamp-duties on the Americans.

When the news of this determination reached America, all the colonies were in ſome degree uneaſy at the thoughts of paying taxes; but the coloniſts of New

England, as if ripe for ſome commotion, were alarmed with the moſt terrible apprehenſions and ſuſpicions, openly affirming, that the King, Lords and Commons had formed a deſign for enſlaving them, and had now begun deliberately to put it in execution. Immediately they entered into aſſociations for diſtreſſing the mother country, from a principle of reſentment, as ſome thought, agreeing to purchaſe as few clothes and goods from her as poſſible, and to encourage manufactures of all kinds within themſelves. They pretended that they were driven to ſuch meaſures by neceſſity; but in reality they had nothing leſs in view than their favourite plan of independence, for the accompliſhment of which it required time to ſecure the union and help of the other colonies, without which they plainly perceived all attempts of their own would be vain and fruitleſs. Accordingly they eſtabliſhed a correſpondence with ſome leading men in each colony, repreſenting the conduct of Great Britain in the moſt odious light, and declaring that nothing could prevent them and their poſterity from being made ſlaves but the firmeſt union and moſt vigorous oppoſition of every colony, to all laws made in Great Britain on purpoſe to raiſe a revenue in the plantations. A few diſcontented perſons, who are commonly to be found in every legiſlature, joined the diſaffected coloniſts of New England; and though at this time the party was inconſiderable, yet being more firmly cemented together by the proſpect of a ſtamp-act, which equally affected the intereſt of all, it by degrees gained ſtrength, and at length became formidable.

Upon which the people of New-England diſcover their diſaffection to government.

Such meaſures, however, did not intimidate the Britiſh miniſters, who imagined that an aſſociation entered

entered into from a principle of reſentment would be of ſhort duration, and that the colonies in general would be averſe from any ſerious quarrel with the mother country, upon which they depended for ſafety and protection. And although they were well appriſed of this ſullen and obſtinate diſpoſition of the coloniſts before the bill was introduced, yet they took no meaſures for preventing that oppoſition, which they had reaſon to believe would be made to the execution of their law. On the contrary, time was imprudently given to ſound the temper of the colonies with reſpect to it, and to give them an opportunity of offering a compenſation for it in their own way, in caſe they were diſſatisfied with that method of raiſing a revenue for their defence. The miniſter even ſignified to the agents of the colonies his readineſs to receive propoſals from them for any other tax that might be equivalent to the ſtamp-duty. This he did although he thought that the parliament not only had a right to tax them, but alſo that it was expedient and proper to exerciſe that right. For as the colonies had no common council empowered by their conſtitution to bind all, their taxing themſelves equally and impartially would be a matter of great difficulty, even although they ſhould be diſpoſed to agree to it. But the colonies, inſtead of making any propoſal for raiſing a revenue by a ſtamp-duy or any other way, ſent home petitions to be preſented to King, Lords, and Commons, queſtioning, in the moſt direct and poſitive terms, the juriſdiction of Parliament over their properties.

An opportunity given the colonies to offer a compenſation for the ſtamp-duty.

In this ſituation of affairs, the Parliament, ſenſible of the heavy burden which already lay on the people

of Great Britain, and of the addition to it which another war muſt occaſion, thought it their indiſpenſable duty to exert that authority, which before this time had never been called in queſtion, for relieving this oppreſſed part of the nation, and providing for the common ſafety, by a charge impartially laid upon all ſubjects, in proportion to their abilities. The tender indulgence exerciſed by a parent over her children in their infant ſtate, was now conſidered as both unreaſonable and unneceſſary in that ſtate of maturity to which the colonies had advanced. All were obliged to confeſs, that the people of America were favoured with the ſame privileges and advantages with their fellow-ſubjects of Britain, and juſtice required that they ſhould contribute to the neceſſary expences of that government under which they lived, and by which they were protected. A revenue was neceſſary to the future ſecurity of America; and on whom ſhould it be raiſed, but thoſe coloniſts who were to enjoy the benefit of ſuch protection. Therefore the bill for laying a ſtamp-duty upon the colonies was brought into parliament; which, after much debate, and many ſtrong arguments urged on both ſides, paſſed through both houſes, and received the royal aſſent by commiſſion, on the 22d of March, 1765. At the ſame time, to compenſate for the operations of the ſtamp-act, another was made to encourage the importation of all kinds of timber from the colonies into Britain: and as the eſtimated produce of the ſtamp-act amounted only to L. 60,000 *per annum*, and timber was ſo plentiful over all the plantations, it was thought that the great advantage which the colonies muſt reap from the latter act, would be an ample recompenſe for the loſs they might ſuſtain from the former.

The ſtamp-act paſſes in parliament.

IN

In the mean time the inhabitants of New England were induſtrious in ſpreading an alarm of danger over all the continent, and making all poſſible preparations for reſiſtance. They had turned a jealous eye towards the mother country, where they had many friends employed to watch her conduct, who failed not to give them the earlieſt intelligence of what was doing in parliament. While they received the news that the ſtamp-act had paſſed, they at the ſame time had intelligence of that violent oppoſition it had met with from a ſtrong faction in the Houſe of Commons. And if their friends in Britain had the boldneſs to call in queſtion both the right of the Britiſh legiſlature to impoſe taxes on the colonies, and the expediency of exerciſing that right, they thought that they had much better reaſon to do ſo; and that none deſerved the bleſſing of liberty who had not courage to aſſert their right to it. Accordingly, no means were neglected that could inflame and exaſperate the populace. Bold and ſeditious ſpeeches were made to ſtir up the people to reſiſtance, by repreſenting the act in the moſt odious light, and affirming that it would be attended with conſequences ſubverſive of all their invaluable rights and privileges. They declared that ſilence was a crime at ſuch a critical time, and that a tame ſubmiſſion to the ſtamp-act would leave their liberties and properties entirely at the diſpoſal of a Britiſh parliament. Having obtained a copy of the act, they publicly burnt it. The ſhips in the harbours hung out their colours half-maſt high, in token of the deepeſt mourning; the bells in the churches were muffled, and ſet a ringing, to communicate the melancholy news from one pariſh to another. Theſe flames, kindled in New England, ſoon ſpread through all the capital

Violent meaſures taken to prevent its execution.

pital towns along the coaſt; ſo that there was ſcarcely a ſea-port town in America in which combinations were not framed for oppoſing the introduction of ſtamp-paper.

When the veſſels arrived which carried thoſe ſtamp-papers to America, the captains were obliged to take ſhelter under the ſtern of ſome ſhips of war, or to ſurrender their cargoes into the hands of the enraged populace. The gentlemen appointed to ſuperintend the diſtribution of ſtamps, were met by the mob at their landing, and compelled to reſign their office. All men ſuſpected of having any deſire of complying with the act, or of favouring the introduction of ſtamps into America, were inſulted and abuſed. The governors of the provinces had no military force to ſupport civil authority. The magiſtrates connived at theſe irregular and riotous proceedings of the people. The aſſemblies adopted the arguments of the minority in parliament, and took encouragement from them to reſiſt the authority of the ſupreme legiſlature. Though each colony in reſpect of another was a ſeparate and independent ſociety, without any political connection, or any ſupreme head to call the repreſentatives of the people together, to act in concert for the common good; yet in this caſe almoſt all, of their own authority, ſent deputies to meet in congreſs at New York, who drew up and ſigned one general declaration of their rights, and of the grievances under which they laboured, and tranſmitted a petition to the King, Lords and Commons, imploring relief.

Among the reſt a party in South Carolina, which province at this time, from inclination, duty and intereſt,

tereſt, was very firmly attached to the mother country, entered warmly into the general oppoſition. Lieutenant-governor Bull, a native of the province, manifeſted a deſire of complying with the act, and ſupporting the legal and conſtitutional dependency of the colony on the crown and parliament of Great Britain; but wanted power ſufficient for maintaining the dignity and authority of his government, and carrying that act into execution. Several old and wiſe men joined him, and declared that they had formerly taken an active part in bringing the province under his majeſty's care, but would now be very cautious of reſiſting the authority of parliament, and robbing it of that protection which it had ſo long and ſo happily enjoyed. The members of aſſembly, finding the Lieutenant-governor determined to tranſact no public buſineſs but in compliance with the act of parliament, began to deliberate how they might beſt elude it. For this purpoſe they addreſſed him, begging to be informed whether the ſtamp-act, ſaid to be paſſed in parliament, had been tranſmitted to him by the Secretary of State, the Lords of Trade, or any other authentic channel, ſince he conſidered himſelf as under obligations to enforce it. He replied, that he had received it from Thomas Boone, the Governor of the province. The aſſembly declared, that they could conſider Mr. Boone, while out of the bounds of his government, in no other light than that of a private gentleman, and that his receiving it in ſuch a channel was not authority ſufficient to oblige him to execute ſo grievous an act. But Mr. Bull and his council were of opinion, that the channel in which he had received it was equally authentic with that in which he had formerly received many laws, to which they had quietly ſubmitted. Upon which

The aſſembly of Carolina ſtudy ways and means of eluding the act.

which the aſſembly came to the following reſolutions, which were ſigned by Peter Manigault their ſpeaker, and ordered to be printed, that they might be tranſmitted to poſterity, in order to ſhew the ſenſe of that houſe with reſpect to the obedience due by America to the Britiſh parliament.

Their reſolutions reſpecting the obedience due to the Britiſh parliament.

" RESOLVED, That his Majeſty's ſubjects in Ca-
" rolina owe the ſame allegiance to the crown of
" Great Britain that is due from its ſubjects born
" there. That his Majeſty's liege ſubjects of this
" province are entitled to all the inherent rights and
" liberties of his natural born ſubjects within the
" kingdom of Great Britain. That the inhabitants
" of this province appear alſo to be confirmed in all
" the rights aforementioned, not only by their char-
" ter, but by an act of parliament, 13th George II.
" That it is inſeparably eſſential to the freedom of a
" people, and the undoubted right of Engliſhmen,
" that no taxes be impoſed on them but with their
" own conſent. That the people of this province are
" not, and from their local circumſtances cannot be
" repreſented in the Houſe of Commons in Great
" Britain; and farther, that, in the opinion of this
" houſe, the ſeveral powers of legiſlation in America
" were conſtituted in ſome meaſure upon the ap-
" prehenſion of this impracticability. That the
" only repreſentatives of the people of this pro-
" vince are perſons choſen therein by themſelves;
" and that no taxes ever have been, or can be, con-
" ſtitutionally impoſed on them but by the legiſlature
" of this province. That all ſupplies to the Crown
" being free gifts of the people, it is unreaſonable
" and inconſiſtent with the principles and ſpirit of
" the

" the Britiſh conſtitution for the people of Great " Britain to grant to his Majeſty the property of the " people of this province. That trial by jury is the " inherent and invaluable right of every Britiſh ſub- " ject in this province. That the act of parliament, " entitled, An act for granting and applying certain " ſtamp-duties and other duties on the Britiſh colo- " nies and plantations in America, &c. by impoſing " taxes on the inhabitants of this province; and the " ſaid act and ſeveral other acts, by extending the " juriſdiction of the courts of admiralty beyond its " ancient limits, have a manifeſt tendency to ſubvert " the rights and liberties of this province. That the " duties impoſed by ſeveral late acts of parliament " on the people of this province will be extremely " burdenſome and grievous; and, from the ſcarcity " of gold and ſilver, the payment of them abſolute- " ly impracticable. That as the profits of the trade " of the people of this province ultimately center in " Great Britain, to pay for the manufactures which " they are obliged to take from thence, they even- " tually contribute very largely to all the ſupplies " granted to the Crown; and beſides, as every in- " dividual in this province is as advantageous at leaſt " to Great Britain as if he were in Great Britain, " as they pay their full proportion of taxes for the " ſupport of his Majeſty's government here, (which " taxes are equal, or more, in proportion to our " eſtates, than thoſe paid by our fellow-ſubjects in " Great Britain upon theirs), it is unreaſonable for " them to be called upon to pay any further part of " the charges of government there. That the aſſem- " blies of this province have from time to time, " whenever requiſitions have been made to them by

" his Majeſty, for carrying on military operations,
" either for the defence of themſelves or America
" in general, moſt cheerfully and liberally contribu-
" ted their full proportion of men and money for
" theſe ſervices. That though the repreſentatives of
" the people of this province had equal aſſurances
" and reaſons with thoſe of the other provinces, to
" expect a proportional reimburſement of thoſe im-
" menſe charges they had been at for his Majeſty's
" ſervice in the late war, out of the ſeveral parlia-
" mentary grants for the uſe of America; yet they
" have obtained only their proportion of the firſt of
" thoſe grants, and the ſmall ſum of L. 285 ſterling
" received ſince. That, notwithſtanding, whenever his
" Majeſty's ſervice ſhall for the future require the aids
" of the inhabitants of this province, and they ſhall
" be called upon for this purpoſe in a conſtitutional
" way, it ſhall be their indiſpenſible duty moſt cheer-
" fully and liberally to grant to his Majeſty their
" proportion, according to their ability, of men and
" money, for the defence, ſecurity, and other public
" ſervices of the Britiſh American colonies. That
" the reſtrictions on the trade of the people of this
" province, together with the late duties and taxes
" impoſed on them by act of parliament, muſt ne-
" ceſſarily greatly leſſen the conſumption of Britiſh
" manufactures amongſt them. That the increaſe,
" proſperity and happineſs of the people of this pro-
" vince, depend on the full and free enjoyment of
" their rights and liberties, and on an affectionate
" intercourſe with Great Britain. That the readineſs
" of the colonies to comply with his Majeſty's requi-
" ſitions, as well as their inability to bear any addi-
" tional taxes beyond what is laid on them by their
" reſpective

" reſpective legiſlatures, is apparent from ſeveral " grants of parliament, to reimburſe them part of " the heavy expences they were at in the late war in " America. That it is the right of the Britiſh ſub- " jects of this province to petition the King, or either " houſe of parliament. Ordered, That theſe votes " be printed and made public, that a juſt ſenſe of the " liberty, and the firm ſentiments of loyalty of the " repreſentatives of the people of this province, may " be known to their conſtituents, and tranſmitted " to poſterity."

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe reſolutions, few of the inhabitants of Carolina, even the moſt ſanguine, entertained the ſmalleſt hopes of a repeal; but expected, after all their ſtruggles, that they would be obliged to ſubmit. Indeed a very ſmall force in the province at that time would have been ſufficient to quell the tumults and inſurrections of the people, and enforce obedience to legal authority. But to the imprudence of miniſters, the faction in parliament, and the weakneſs of the civil power in America, the reſiſtance of the colonies may be aſcribed. Had the ſtamp-duty been laid on them without any previous notice of the reſolution of parliament, it is not improbable that they would have received it as they had done other acts of the Britiſh legiſlature. Or had the parliament been unanimous in paſſing the act, and taken proper meaſures for carrying it into execution, there is little doubt but the colonies would have ſubmitted to it. For however generally the people might be indiſpoſed for admitting of that or any other tax, yet a great majority of them at this time were averſe from calling in queſtion the ſupreme authority of the

The people become more violent in oppoſition to government.

Britiſh parliament. But a ſmall flame, which at firſt is eaſily extinguiſhed, when permitted to ſpread, has often been productive of great conflagrations. The riotous and turbulent party, encouraged by the minority in England, ſet the feeble power of government in America at defiance. The better ſort of people mingled with the rioters, and made uſe of the arguments of their friends in England to inflame and exaſperate them. At length, they not only agreed to adhere to their former illegal combinations for diſtreſſing and ſtarving the Engliſh manufactures, but alſo to with-hold from Britiſh merchants their juſt debts. This they imagined would raiſe ſuch commotions in Britain as could not fail to overturn the miniſtry, or intimidate the parliament.

In conſequence of theſe diſturbances and combinations in America, great evils began to be felt in England, and ſtill greater to be feared. The temporary interruption of commercial intercourſe between the mother country and the colonies was very prejudicial to both. That large body of people engaged in preparing, purchaſing and ſending out goods to the continent were deprived of employment, and conſequently of the means of ſubſiſtence; than which nothing could be conceived more likely to excite commotions in England. The revenue ſuffered by the want of the export and import duties. Petitions flowed into parliament from all quarters, not only from the colonies in America, but alſo from the trading and manufacturing towns in Great Britain, praying for ſuch relief as to that houſe might ſeem expedient, at a juncture ſo alarming. The miniſters having neglected to take the proper meaſures to enforce their law, while the

The merchants and manufacturers in England join in petitioning for relief.

the matter was eaſy and practicable, were now obliged to yield to the riſing current, and reſign their places. By the interpoſition of the duke of Cumberland, ſuch a change in the adminiſtration took place as promiſed an alteration of meaſures with reſpect to America. Mr. Pitt, who highly diſapproved of the ſcheme for raiſing a revenue from the colonies, having long been detained by indiſpoſition from parliament, had now ſo much recovered as to be able to attend the houſe.—The hiſtory of what follows is diſgraceful to Great Britain, being entirely compoſed of lenient conceſſions in favour of a riſing uſurpation, and of ſuch ſhameful weakneſs and timidity in the miniſtry, as afterwards rendered the authority of the Britiſh parliament in America feeble and contemptible.

No ſooner had this change in adminiſtration taken place, than all papers and petitions relative to the ſtamp-act, both from Great Britain and America, were ordered to be laid before the Houſe of Commons. The houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee, to conſider of thoſe papers, about the beginning of the year 1766. Leave was given to bring in a bill for repealing an act of laſt ſeſſion of parliament, entitled, An act for granting and applying certain ſtamp-duties and other duties, in the Britiſh colonies and plantations in America, towards defraying the expences of protecting and ſecuring the ſame. When this bill came into parliament a warm debate enſued, and Mr. Pitt with ſeveral more members ſtrongly urged the neceſſity of a repeal. He made a diſtinction between external and internal taxes, and denied not only the right of parliament to impoſe the latter on the colonies, but alſo the juſtice, equity, policy and expediency

The ſtamp-act repealed.

ency of exerciſing that right. Accordingly, while it was declared that the King, by and with the conſent of the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, and Commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled, had, have, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and ſtatutes of ſufficient force and validity to bind the colonies and people of America, ſubjects of the crown of Great Britain, in all caſes whatſoever; the ſtamp-act was repealed, becauſe it appeared that the continuance of it would be attended with many inconveniencies, and might be productive of conſequences detrimental to the commercial intereſt of theſe kingdoms.

Which proves fatal to the juriſdiction of the Britiſh parliament in America.

THIS conceſſion in favour of the riſing uſurpation, inſtead of proving favourable to the commercial intereſts of the nation, had rather the contrary effect, and ſerved to ſet the colonies in ſome meaſure free from the legiſlative authority of Britain. It gave ſuch importance to the licentious party in America, and ſuch ſuperiority over the good and loyal ſubjects as had a manifeſt tendency to throw the colonies into a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion. It ſerved to promote a doctrine among them ſubverſive of all good government, which plainly implied, that the obedience of ſubjects was no longer due to the laws of the ſupreme legiſlature, than they in their private judgments might think them agreeable to their intereſt, or the particular notions which they may have framed of a free conſtitution. While it gave countenance and encouragement to the riotous and turbulent ſubjects in America, who at that time were neither an opulent nor reſpectable party in the colonies, it expoſed the real friends of government to popular prejudice, and rendered their affections

affections more cool, and their future endeavours in ſupport of government more feeble and ineffectual. For after repealing the ſtamp-act, without any previous ſubmiſſion on the part of the colonies, how could it be expected that any gentleman would riſque his domeſtic peace, his fortune, or his life, in favour of a diſtant government ready to deſert him, and leave him ſubjected to all the inſults and outrages of future inſurgents? How could it be imagined that theſe colonies, that had ſet the power of Great Britain at defiance, and obtained what they aimed at by tumults and inſurrections, would afterwards remain quiet? As they had oppoſed the ſtamp-act, aſſigning for reaſon that they were not repreſented in parliament, was it not evident that the ſame reaſon would extend to all other laws which the parliament might enact to bind them in times to come, or had enacted to bind them in times paſt? The repeal of the ſtamp-act upon ſuch a principle, and in ſuch circumſtances of tumult, unqueſtionably ſerved to encourage the colonies in diſobedience, and to prepare their minds for aſſerting their independence.

And gives occaſion of triumph to the colonies.

When the news of the repeal of this act reached America, it afforded the coloniſts, as might have been expected, matter of great triumph. The moſt extravagant demonſtrations of joy, by bonfires, illuminations and ringing of bells, were exhibited in every capital. The Carolineans ſent to England for a marble ſtatue of Mr. Pitt, and erected it in the middle of Charleſtown, in grateful remembrance of the noble ſtand he had made in defence of their rights and liberties. Addreſſes were ſent home to the King, acknowledging the wiſdom and juſtice of his government in the repeal

peal of the grievous act, and expreſſing their happineſs that their former harmony and commercial intercourſe, ſo beneficial to both countries, were reſtored. But ſoon after it appeared that the power of Great Britain in America had received a fatal blow, ſuch as ſhe would never be able to recover, without the ſevereſt ſtruggles and boldeſt exertions. For whatever fair profeſſions of friendſhip ſome colonies might make, the ſtrongeſt of them retained their natural averſion to monarchy, and were well diſpoſed for undermining the civil eſtabliſhments, and paving the way for their entire ſubverſion. The Britiſh government, formerly ſo much revered, was now deemed oppreſſive and tyrannical. The little iſland, they ſaid, had become jealous of their dawning power and ſplendour, and it behoved every one to watch her conduct with a ſharp eye, and carefully guard their civil and religious liberties. Accordingly, for the future, we will find, that the more Great Britain ſeemed to avoid, the more the colonies ſeemed to ſeek for, grounds of quarrel; and the more the former ſtudied to unite, by the ties of common intereſt, the more the latter ſtrove to diſſolve every political and commercial connection. Their minds and affections being alienated from the mother country, they next diſcovered an uneaſineſs under the reſtraints of legal authority. They quarrelled almoſt with every governor, found fault with all inſtructions from England which claſhed with their leading paſſions and intereſts, and made uſe of every art for weakening the hands of civil government. Their friends in Britain had gloried that they had reſiſted; and now ſubjection of every kind was called ſlavery, and the ſpirit of diſorder and diſobedience which had broke

out continued and prevailed. At length, even the navigation-act was deemed a yoke, which they wiſhed to ſhake off, and throw their commerce open to the whole world. Several writers appeared in America in defence of what they were pleaſed to call their natural rights, who had a lucky talent of ſeaſoning their compoſitions to the palate of the bulk of the people. Hence the ſeeds of diſaffection which had ſprung up in New England ſpread through the other colonies, inſomuch that multitudes became infected with republican principles, and aſpired after independence.—But here we ſhall ſtop for the preſent time, and leave the account of their farther ſtruggles towards the accompliſhment of this favourite plan to ſome future opportunity.

FINIS.

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